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English as a lingua franca:

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English as a Lingua Franca: an empirical study of innovation
in lexis and grammar

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Abstract

This thesis deals with the spread of English internationally, and presents specifically a discussion on the use of English as a lingua franca (ELF). The research project has involved the collection and analysis of a corpus of exclusively non-native speaker – non-native speaker spoken interactions. The main aim of the research has been to provide systematic descriptions of innovative linguistic features in such interactions, with the view to analysing emerging patterns of the use of linguistic resources by speakers for whom English is not their first language.

My discussion reviews the growing body of ELF literature, including existing and ongoing corpus-based projects in phonology, pragmatics and lexicogrammar. The data gathered in this research project contributes to our growing understanding of the diversification of English in the world. The findings of this research contribute specifically to descriptions of the ways in which the lexical and grammatical resources of English are being employed in ELF settings. The theoretical and empirical insights gained in this research are discussed with reference to the contemporary context of globalisation, and to the historical context of the development of English diachronically. A further focus of the discussion is on the pedagogical implications of the findings for English language teaching and language teacher education.

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Chapter 1

1.1 Background and context

At the start of this research, in September 2001, I was a language teacher and teacher trainer at International House London. As an English language teacher I had for some time noticed that L2 learners of English often produced written and spoken discourse which frequently differed in systematic ways from standard L1 Englishes, but which appeared to be entirely effective communication. As I made the transition from language teacher to teacher trainer, which largely coincided with the period between completion of an MA in ELT and enrolment as an Mphil/PhD student at King's College London, I started to pay closer attention to the linguistic properties of the language produced by learners. My principle objective in doing this was to be able to better explain, and deal with more systematically, the types of questions I anticipated that novice teachers would ask me in relation to the nature of students' language output, as well as issues regarding how best to deal with this as a language teacher.

As I continued to note down samples of 'learner language', it seemed to become evermore apparent that there was often a particular systematicity to the types of features I was noticing. This was in itself not a surprise, since through my reading of theories in second language acquisition (SLA) I knew that learners' errors had long been regarded as systematic, and that this was indeed a central factor to the notion of 'interlanguage' (Selinker 1972, 1992). What did surprise was a growing realisation that these 'errors' were not only systematic themselves, but also that they often seemed to exemplify syntactic patterns and semantic properties more consistently than some of the standard ENL forms they were replacing. This raised a whole host of very important ponderable issues, especially when faced with the questions of trainee teachers about which items of language learner output they should focus on for reformulation or correction.

The period in which I began making these observations also coincided with a flourish of publications in the study of English as an International Language (EIL) and English as a Lingua Franca (ELF). This led to a considerable shift in my understanding of these samples of learner language not as systematic cases of erroneous, ill-formed versions of L1 target language, but as possible variants in their own right. In other words, I began to

regard many of the apparently more frequent items not as ‘learner language’ at all, but as examples of L2 language use. In particular, my reading of Jenkins (2000) and Seidlhofer (2001) caused me to reconsider the approach I was taking in the classroom/seminar room in language teaching and teacher training. This emerging body of ELF-oriented literature was also fundamentally important to the formulation of my initial research proposal.

1.2 Defining the terminology

The issues surrounding the debate about ELF have important implications for the terminology we use to describe English language and teaching. Conventionally in English language teaching a distinction is made between ESL (English as a second language) and EFL (English as a foreign language). The term ‘ESL’ is used to refer to contexts of learning and/or use of English where the language serves as a medium of communication intranationally, usually for official and institutional functions (e.g. in countries like India, Nigeria, Singapore), as well as being used to refer to the learning of English by minority language groups and immigrant populations in countries such as the UK and the USA. In contrast ‘EFL’ has traditionally been the term used to describe the learning of English in contexts where the language does not serve as a medium of communication. In the United States the acronym ESOL (English to Speakers of Other Languages) tends to be preferred as the term used to describe this latter type of context.

In recent years, however, with the growing interest in the use of English in different contexts, the appropriateness of these terms has been extensively questioned. Widdowson (2004), for example, comments that the term ESOL is perhaps misleading for it implies that we can define the objective for English learning independent of any reference to who these other speakers are. The consequence of this is that the English to be taught is usually understood to be both unitary, and established on the authority of the native speaker. Widdowson proposes that if we interpret the acronym to mean ‘English *for* Speakers of Other Languages’ (2004: 363, *italics in original*), this avoids this implication, and allows us to describe the language more from the viewpoint of those who are going to learn and use it. In addition, Leung (2005) suggests that the term EAL (English as an additional language) might similarly be preferable because this, and Widdowson’s term, he argues are both “less weighed down with history, and because they signal the possibility of defining English from the standpoint of the users/learners. In particular, the term ‘EFL’ has been deemed problematic.

On one level this is quite simply because as Jenkins (2000) points out “the term does not express the principal purpose of learning English today” (p. 10), as the goals of most English language learning is not native/non-native interaction. What is more problematic still, Jenkins goes on to comment is the strong negative implications of the word ‘foreign.’ Unless a point being made relates specifically to the naming conventions used to describe English use and learning in these contexts, in this thesis I will use the more general term ‘ELT’ in discussions about language pedagogy. I realise that this is at the risk of being imprecise, and for this reason, and wherever necessary, when describing the goals, methods and so on of English language learning, reference will always be made to the specific nature of the context.

Braj Kachru’s (1985, 1992) sociolinguistic profiling of English in his well-known concentric circles model is another case where conventional terminology is in need of some updating. While providing a useful frame of reference for describing the internationalisation of English, the model has also been given important critical treatment in recent years. For one thing, the metaphors of ‘inner’ and ‘outer’ imply respectively a sense of inclusion and exclusion, where NSs are located at the centre, and all others are on the periphery. Graddol (1997) has commented on the inappropriateness of locating the ‘centre of gravity’ in the domain of the NS, not least of all because this carries a strong implication that the only source of language correctness is the L1 speaker. This therefore undermines any attempt by L2 speakers to appropriate the language for their own purposes of expression and identity. Other commentators have similarly highlighted the need to modify this model (including among others Modiano 1999, Seidlhofer 2002, Yano 2001) to reflect the growing debate and increased awareness of the sociopolitics of English use worldwide. However, in line with many scholars in World Englishes and ELF (cf. Jenkins 2006a) I refer to Kachru’s framework in this thesis, but do so primarily for ease of reference, and in the absence of any widespread agreement over an alternative model¹.

¹ See Jenkins (2003) for a discussion of the many comments regarding the concentric circles model, and Kachru (2005) for responses to the critiques of the framework. Primarily I have referred to the contexts of English use in relation not to Kachru’s circles, but to descriptions of the type of English used in each setting. These I referred to respectively as ENL, nativized, and lingua franca English and/or settings. At times it has still been necessary to refer to the inner- outer- and expanding circles, as these are the terms most widely used in the literature and research under discussion here. Whenever I use these terms, however, I do so aware of their limitations, and conscious of the need for an alternative model.

The terms used to describe the field of work to which my research can be said to belong have gone through some quite significant developments during the life of this project. The expression *World Englishes* was probably the first term that was most characteristically associated with the literature and research I was engaging with early on in this study. As Jenkins (2006a) comments, the plurality of this can appear quite remarkable and alarming when first encountered. She also explains how the term can be used in a number of ways: firstly as a general term to describe all varieties of English worldwide, and secondly it can be used more specifically to describe the *indigenized* or *nativized* varieties spoken in Asia, Africa, the Caribbean, such as Indian English, Singapore English, and so on. Following Jenkins, in this thesis *World Englishes* is used in the second narrower sense as a means of distinguishing between research investigating ELF from that which has as its focus the nativized Englishes.

Initially in my work I used *English as an International Language* (EIL) to describe the type of language use being researched. However, as Seidlhofer (2004) comments, the term *International English* can be misleading since it would seem to suggest there is such a thing as a unitary variety of the language that is used in international contexts. Furthermore, the use of the word to describe nativized varieties and their study can also lead to confusion. The focus of this research project is specifically the use of the language as a lingua franca among speakers of different linguacultural backgrounds. For this reason I primarily make use of the term ELF. My own research project and the data gathered are always described with the label ELF. At times though it has been necessary to use 'EIL', or very occasionally EIL/ELF, to refer to cases in the literature where 'EIL' occurs, or where these discussions fail to distinguish clearly between different types of international English use. As Jenkins (2006b) observes researchers working in this field prefer the term ELF, though in earlier literature EIL (cf. Jenkins 2000) is more usual. Furthermore, and possibly adding to the confusion, the uptake of the term by those not involved in this type of research seems to be slow. For the purpose of this thesis my working definition of ELF is as follows:

ELF can be defined as a naturally occurring and widely used means of international communication among speakers of English who speak different first languages, and for whom English is normally not their first language².

² This is a definition of ELF arrived at over a period of meetings between colleagues and research students at King's College London which were aimed at the establishment of an ELF research forum.

This is a broader definition of ELF than some others in the literature (e.g. Firth 1996, House 1999) since it allows settings in which L1 English speakers are present to be described as ELF contexts, so long as these speakers are in a minority and providing the speakers are not orienting towards the supposed norms of an L1 speaker (see also chapter 3.4.1 for a more detailed discussion).

1.3 Research objectives and organisation of thesis

The principle objectives of this research project are two-fold. In the first instance my aim has been to gather on a small scale a corpus of spoken interactions in ELF, to transcribe and systematically analyse these in order to identify some of the more characteristic features of lingua franca speech. Subsequently, the purpose of the research has been to relate these findings to the practice of English language teaching. In doing so I have focused on ways in which the data, and ELF research generally, may impact on language learners, language teachers and teacher educators. The discussion of the research project, presentation of data, and treatment of the implications have been organised into 9 chapters.

The key relevant literature is reviewed in chapter 2, in which I provide an overview of the historical development of the various debates surrounding the international spread of English. The chapter comments on the principle theoretical positions regarding the use and description of English in the world, focusing on topics such as ownership (Widdowson 1994), agency (Brutt-Griffler 2002), normative models for language teaching (e.g. Cook 1999), and a range of socio-political aspects of language use and teaching worldwide (e.g. Pennycook 1994). Chapter 3 describes the theoretical framework and methodological approach underpinning this research project, providing details of the contexts under investigation and the methods used for data collection, description and analysis. The data are presented in chapters 4 and 5, with the first of these providing primarily a descriptive account of the findings, and the second suggesting a classification of the types of features presented, as well as discussion and explanation of the underlying causes of the innovations emerging in the corpus. The purpose of chapters 6 and 7 is to situate the findings, and the ELF debate more generally, in the contemporary context of globalization, and the historical context of the diachronic development of English respectively. In chapter 8 I discuss the pedagogical implications of this research project, and the continued emergence of ELF data more broadly. Chapter 9 provides a summary of the main arguments of the thesis, makes

some final observations on the possible impact of arguments about ELF in language education, and provides a reflection on the research findings, their limitations, and possible future directions for work of this kind.

Chapter 2

From the spread of English to the emergence of Englishes: A historical perspective on theoretical developments

2.1 English in the world

Clearly, English is a language that is like no other in the position it occupies in the world today, indeed like no other has occupied at any moment in history. Although there are and have been other international languages, the case of English is different in fundamental ways: for the extent of its diffusion geographically; for the enormous cultural diversity of the speakers who use it; and for the infinitely varied domains in which it is found and purposes it serves.

It has for some time now been widely acknowledged in applied linguistics that non-native speakers of the language have come to outnumber the native-speakers, that in fact most interactions in English take place in the absence of the latter (cf. Crystal 2003, Graddol 1997, 2006). There have been numerous papers and book length treatments on the implications of the spread of English, including issues such as the question of ownership (Widdowson 1994), the normative model in second language pedagogy (Cook 1999, Parakrama 1995), and reconsiderations of the nature of communicative competence (Alpetkin 2002, Leung 2005). Indeed an entire body of literature has emerged, ranging from linguistic imperialism (Phillipson 1992, Phillipson and Skutnabb-Kangas 1999), through to critical applied linguistics and pedagogy (Canagarajah 1999, Pennycook 1994, 2001), leading ultimately to ELF as an established field in its own right. This has resulted in a number of edited volumes dealing with a range of positions regarding ELF (e.g. Gnutzmann 1999, Gnutzmann and Intermann 2005), as well as the publication of a growing number of ELF specific papers, (e.g. House 1999, Mauranten 2003). In addition, reviews of the literature on ELF and English as an International Language (EIL) have begun to appear in academic papers and conference platforms (see e.g. Llurda 2004 for an overview of the field and discussion of implications for language teaching; Seidlhofer 2004 for a detailed account of ELF research perspectives; and Jenkins 2006a for a discussion of the impact of ELF

research in pedagogy, Jenkins 2006b for a critical appraisal of second language acquisition theory from an EIL/ELF perspective.)

The predominant setting for communication in English has thus shifted away from inner circle contexts towards the expanding circle, where it is the preferred shared code among speakers for whom English is not L1. Lingua franca use has become not only the most frequent and characteristic domain of the language but also arguably its most significant defining feature. It seems ironic to consider that the spread of English – begun with military dominance and the expansion of a British empire, subsequently maintained by the political and cultural might of the United States – has resulted in a language whose role in the world is most characterized by how it relates to neither of the groups involved in its distribution but to almost anyone else. The scale of the current phenomenon is without precedent in human languages. This inevitably produces far reaching consequences regarding the nature of English internally, the way in which the language is perceived and related to by the various communities that use it, the way in which the language is described linguistically, and the way in which it is taught, learnt and assessed across the multiple contexts it occupies.

While there are other lingua francas operating in the world today, Kiswahili in East Africa for example, or that have operated as such in the past, as Latin did until the late middle ages in Europe, these all perform a more localized role than that of ELF. English is different not least of all because it is countable – it is not otherwise customary to make use of a plural form when referring to any other language. It is now possible to talk not only of English but Englishes.¹ It is not only possible but in many circumstances preferable; in fact to do otherwise without further qualifying the context in which a particular English is used would fail to take account of the sociolinguistic realities of its multifarious speakers. Yet this is precisely what does happen in many contexts, and continually so in a wide range of English language related endeavours: in published applied linguistics; academic discourse at conferences; and most significantly of all perhaps (given that for most speakers English will need to be learnt as a second language) in current common practice in English Language Teaching (ELT).

¹ One need not look far to come across 'Englishes' occurring in the title of academic books, papers and journals, e.g. Jenkins (2003). In 2003 the journal *World Englishes* (the original title of which was changed to include the plural 'Englishes') was expanded to 4 issues from 3 each year. A search in a university library catalogue will reveal a good number of books with 'World Englishes' in or as the title (though an interesting exception to this trend occurs with Janina Brutt – Griffler's 2002 title *World English*.)

Despite the multiplicity of English, in many professional settings the language is referred to in universal terms, and without qualification, as if it were like most other languages, the code used by a given speech community or otherwise clearly defined social group. Even in the case of a language as widespread as Spanish, which serves as the mother tongue for majority populations in a wide number of nations, the situation is not comparable. Being a speaker of Spanish will often involve expression of a Hispanic or Latin identity. For example in the United States it is not uncommon for Cubans, Puerto Ricans, and Mexicans to identify themselves in terms of belonging as much to a Hispanic community, as to a national Cuban, Puerto Rican or Mexican one. This cannot be so easily said of most speakers of English, who in the outer or expanding circles are unlikely to be concerned with expressing a mutual English-oriented identity. There are thus a number of important questions that need to be asked. It is necessary to consider what we mean when we talk of English, and essential that we consider which variety of the language we are referring to in any discussion of the language. In addition, this will involve questions as to whom a variety belongs to, how speakers identify themselves in relation to it, and for what purposes the language is used. These are all issues that have far reaching consequences for the pedagogy of English.

Teaching English as a second language has of course taken place for a number of centuries. In the twentieth century, however, this took on monumental proportions. It emerged in the post war era as a very firmly established global industry with a clear sense of identity, and with its own set of firmly established abbreviations and acronyms - familiarity with which can be a particularly strong marker of group identity. We do not talk of the teaching of English but of ELT, and within this we talk of among others, ESL (English as a Second Language), EFL (English as a Foreign language), EAL (English as an Additional Language), or of EAP and ESP (respectively, English for Academic Purposes and English for Specific Purposes). Language teaching outside ELT contexts does not seem to have marketed and packaged itself in this same way. Equivalent acronyms and abbreviations are not commonplace in French, Spanish or Japanese language teaching for example. Furthermore, on initial teacher training courses for teachers of French, German, Italian and Spanish at International House London, the key methodology textbooks are the same as those for English language teachers, and they are very much the product of the ELT industry.

In fact it is probably symptomatic of the status of the English language and accompanying attitudes of L1 English speakers that we can refer to MLT (Modern Language teaching) and MFL (Modern Foreign Languages), whereby the teaching and learning of languages 'other' than English are grouped together under a 'one-size fits all' single heading. In other words, the teaching of these languages is often defined in terms of what the language is not, that is, by the fact that it is not English, by its otherness. This seems to be reflected on a number of levels in current ELT practice, and in fact is encompassed in the very names of two of the most significant institutions in the profession: TESOL (Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages) in the US and Cambridge ESOL (English for Speakers of Other Languages) in the UK. Both are particularly influential organizations, with responsibilities for the administration of language teaching, English language assessment and language teaching qualifications internationally. Regardless of the widespread nature of the English, we do still talk of 'foreign' and 'other' as if the language continues to exist in a clearly demarcated geographical setting. Whether we speak of the teaching of English as a second language or 'foreign' language the unspoken assumption is that we know what we mean by English, at least intuitively and instinctively. Despite the many descriptions of English varieties, among ELT practitioners the nature of English has remained for the most part unquestioned. This is evermore surprising not only when we consider the complexity of the situation of English in the world, but also especially if we take account of the extent of the growing discourse on the study of World Englishes.

The principle objective of this chapter is to take stock of some of the most significant texts that have emerged in the development of such discourse. In doing so I aim to trace a thread of academic argument that has developed from the early 1980's onward with discussions of the wider context of English (e.g. Brumfit 1982; Kachru 1985, 1992; Quirk 1985; Smith 1983, 1992; and Widdowson 1982, 1994, 1997) to the present day where World Englishes and ELF have become established research fields, concerned not only with theoretical questions, but also in an investigation into the practical implications of the internationalization of English, investigations which at their most productive have led to the publication of empirical data (e.g. Jenkins 2000, 2002) and the establishment of large-scale ELF corpora (e.g. Seidlhofer 2001, and Mauranen 2003). In tracing that thread the aim is to identify the most influential research and publications, especially where these have raised questions regarding the role of English and the way in which it is perceived - and even more

especially where the attitudes of the various interested parties are brought to light. In recent years, and perhaps in line with an enhanced awareness of globalization in the world generally, these discussions have become more vigorous in nature and immediate in their concern.

There is however a significant difference between the way in which these discussions are pursued in mainland Europe and the UK. The ELF view of English has not been promoted in the same way in the UK, where the field tends to be more marginalized, and the perception of English more monolithic. As Jenkins (2006a) observes ELF perspectives have for the most part failed to filter through into discussions about language teaching. In mainland Europe ELF has become more established as a field of inquiry (e.g. Knapp and Meierkord 2002, Mauranen 2003, Gnutzmann and Intemann 2005), with some scholars making significant challenges to the status quo in ELT, and explicitly calling for change in current practice (see especially Seidlhofer 1999, 2001).

2.2 Raising awareness of the Global context of English

In early discussions of the global context of English, difference is made between the various types of English in terms of the nature of the setting, that is, whether the language is acquired and spoken as an ENL (English as a native language), or whether it is learnt in an ESL or EFL environment. Quirk (1985) for example highlights the importance of the term ESL, as a means of describing speakers in settings like India and Singapore who use the language in a number of domains intranationally, and for whom it would thus be inappropriate to describe the language as in any sense 'foreign'. Somewhat confusingly, however, in a later paper Quirk (1988) then abandons this distinction, doubting in fact whether it is either possible or relevant to differentiate between the two settings.

This seems to go against a continuing trend in discussions of World Englishes and ELF to favour a more pluralistic approach to the categorising and naming of different types of English language settings. Quirk's views represent an argument in the opposite direction, resulting in a less precise and more general description of English rather than a finer tuned one. By no longer distinguishing to the same degree between different contexts of English use, Quirk seems to be adopting a rather monolithic approach, a view which is in stark

contrast to the positions taken by researchers in World Englishes and ELF². Given the extent to which corpora in the inner, outer - and now increasingly in the expanding circle - have shed light on the variability of English, we might expect not only that later discussions should maintain previously determined categories, but also that they should expand rather than contract the number of terms used to describe the different Englishes. There are clearly important differences between contexts where English is used intranationally and where it is used primarily for international communication. Furthermore, these differences undoubtedly have considerable impact on teaching related issues, as discussed at length for example in Canagarajah (2005), in which it is argued that the global nature of English is best regarded as a plural system where norms and teaching materials need to be locally determined. A greater degree of preciseness in the terms we use to describe English would certainly far better reflect the growing awareness of the importance of social context, surely an inevitable consequence of such diffused language spread. This lack of precision is, though, quite typical of much of the discourse in applied linguistics and ELT pedagogy, and in many ways might be considered characteristic of the current state of affairs in language classrooms around the world.

Jenkins (e.g. 2000, 2002) indeed highlights the inadequacy of this state of affairs, typified by the absence of any significant methodological shift of the kind that is necessary in order for pedagogy to suit the changing patterns of English use in light of the continued internationalisation of the language. To return to the question of ESL Vs. EFL, and putting aside for the moment Quirk's later confusion, recognition of the inadequacy of the term EFL represents an important initial rupture in the way in which English is perceived in the world. The terms are inadequate, but not perhaps in the way Quirk suggested. Without doubt it is untenable that language learning in outer circle contexts should be described as EFL. It is also equally inappropriate to describe as *de facto* all English use in the expanding circle as EFL. It is significant, however, that in early discussions, appropriateness of the 'foreign' epithet is usually only challenged with regard to outer circle use of English, but not brought into question in relation to expanding circle countries.

² Although ELF research seeks to identify systematic and characteristic linguistic features, ELF scholars have often been misinterpreted, sometimes misrepresented, as proposing a monolithic English for the entire world, a fallacy explicitly and extensively addressed by Seidlhofer (2006).

There are, however, some notable exceptions to this general trend. Smith (1983), for example, very early on in the discourse on international English makes a key point with regard to terminology in his preface, a point that represents a more significant departure in the framing of EIL than many of the more contemporary discussions in the field. Smith states that the (1983) volume represents a fundamental difference in approach. He observes that in other texts on the subject, the international use of English is not fully realized, pointing out that 'English as an international language' is used as a cover term for EFL and ESL, and that the focus of attention is primarily on interactions between NNSs and NSs, while concern with NNS-NNS interaction is (still) regarded only secondarily. Smith's focus of attention is on the significance of the NNS to EIL, since in reality English is most often used internationally for communication between NNSs for a wide range of functions and across a wide range of cultures. It seems remarkable that more than two decades after Smith had the foresight to make this paradigm shift, many studies in SLA continue to describe L2 English use in deficit terms with the assumption that the goal of learning is NS-like competence and preparation for NNS-NS interactions.

In addition, Smith makes the point that while L1 speakers of British or American English may use the language natively, they will need training in how to use the language for international communication, and should study English as an international language if they need to interact with NNSs or with speakers of other L1 varieties (cf. Kubota's 2001 treatment of this). Without this training in both NNS-NNS and NNS-NS settings there is a likelihood of miscommunication, a problem which for Smith arises as the result of two false assumptions: firstly, that it is often widely assumed that knowledge of native or native-like knowledge of grammar, lexis and phonology is a necessary and sufficient condition for communication to flow; and secondly, that ways of speaking and patterns of discourse are the same for all speakers of English. Smith also addresses the issue of ownership, and in a (1976) article, in probably the earliest of works to discuss EIL, argues that EFL, ESL, and ESOL are all inadequate and in need of being replaced, since it is inappropriate to talk of a foreignness to English when it is used in so many settings for so many purposes. It is a language that belongs to the world and all nations that use it, and for Smith, the British or Americans for example can lay no more claim over the language than say someone in Japan or Korea, Malaysia or Singapore. It is interesting that Smith here uses the term 'EIAL' (English as an international auxiliary language), where 'auxiliary' is defined as English used

intranationally in countries where it is not a first language, though his choice of examples when discussing the question of ownership does extend to countries like Japan and Korea – that is, expanding as opposed to outer circle varieties where there is minimal or no intranational use of English.

Unlike some more contemporary scholars, Smith draws attention to the wider consequences of acknowledging that English is an international language, suggesting that this will involve a shift on an affective, structural and rhetorical level. On an affective level a major shift is required in the attitude teachers and learners have towards the language, and will have implications for the way the ELT profession regards the NS and NNS teacher (cf. Seidlhofer 1999). For the purposes of my research what is perhaps most significant, though, is the position Smith outlines with regard to the issue of linguistic structure:

Under the structural component we will teach more than what is common American and British English structure. We will begin with how best to communicate our ideas and ideals to others in spoken and written international auxiliary English. We'll have to consider that with different people we may have to use different structural approaches.
(Smith 1983: 4)

On a rhetorical level, these implications will involve the style and phonological features of the language, and have an impact on how these are taught. So clearly, while in the absence of reliable data for Smith it will be difficult to set out the exact parameters of what is considered correct or appropriate usage in international English, this represents a major departure from even many of the subsequent and some contemporary texts on the topic. In much of the discourse in EIL to follow the publication of the (1976) article and (1983) volume, the tacit assumption was that patterns of linguistic behaviour would follow one or other NS model – the still unchallenged reality in most current ELT practice. For Smith the teaching of English should require a much more careful consideration of context, and any model of use or notions of correctness and appropriacy should be generated endo-normatively within that context, where the target of learning is mutual intelligibility rather than ENL norms.

Despite such seminal work, and the growing body of literature that has taken up these issues much further, as well as despite increased awareness of the globalization of English, it is still common practice among ELT practitioners to use (mostly unquestioningly)

the term EFL, and to do so more than a quarter of a century after Smith first discussed the inadequacies of the then 'current' terminology of applied linguistics. This is a paradigm shift that has not been fully taken up by the wider applied linguistic community, a problem which Seidlhofer (2005) ascribes to the discrepancy between assertions made by World Englishes and ELF scholars regarding a pluricentric approach, and the continued 'submission' to NS norms in practice. Indeed, as Jenkins (2006a) points out there is still much to do on the theoretical level, and even more on the practical level for the implications of ELF to be taken up in ELT, a matter which she observes is particularly well attested by the rather telling fact that Widdowson returns to the issue of ownership and standard English in two recent influential ELT publications (2003, 2004).

2.3 The Question of Standard English

As Seidlhofer (2005) points out in her reappraisal of the debate regarding Standard English, learning goals in language pedagogy have traditionally been determined in relation to a standard language. Clearly this is a debate that continues to occupy significant space in applied linguistic discourse. It is thus particularly noteworthy that as long ago as the 1970's and 1980's Larry Smith was suggesting that something other than a NS normative model should form the criteria by which language performance is measured and the target to which a learner of EIL/ELF should aspire. Brumfit (1982) also presents the case for establishing an alternative normative model, rejecting the notion that this need necessarily be based on L1 Englishes. These are both notable exceptions to the otherwise fairly broad tendency in applied linguistics and ELT to favour - even in the light of the global context of English - a largely hypothetical and monolithic notion of standard form (e.g. Crystal 2001, 2003, McArthur 1998). The positions of Larry Smith and Christopher Brumfit seem to have remained uncommon and largely ignored until relatively recently.

It is therefore of huge importance that any consideration of the implications of ELF for pedagogy to take account of what is understood by Standard English, and to take stock of the historical development of notions of standardization. In order to establish a theoretical framework within which to study the nature of ELF it is useful to consider in detail a number of the more prominent definitions of what is meant by 'standards', and then essential to explore these in order to identify a clear position with regard to the question of standardization in the context of English in the world today. In recent years there have been

numerous critical discussions about standardization, as perhaps is most notably embodied in the edited volume *Standard English: The Widening Debate* (Bex and Watts 1999). A number of these texts and others besides are dealt with at length in chapter 8 (see 8.6) as part of the discussion of the implications for language pedagogy of this and other ELF research projects. In this chapter I now consider the beginnings of the standard language debate as discussed in reference to the spread of English internationally, as well as consider recent reappraisals of earlier positions in order to assess the influence these continue to have in applied linguistics and ELT.

The notion of standard Englishes is a central concern of the discussions presented in Quirk and Widdowson (1985) – a necessary concern that must be addressed in any articulation of the context of English language spread internationally. Quirk regards the issue of standards as controversial in nature, commenting that it is widely acknowledged by applied linguists not only that a single standard variety does not exist worldwide, but that it is difficult in fact to talk of a single standard variety in any given ENL country. The emphasis in applied linguistic studies has been on the existence of multiple and variable standards, wherein lies the controversy: the variable nature of English is for Quirk potentially very problematic.

While Quirk (1985, 1990) acknowledges that there is a large number of standards, the choice of which set of norms a learner of English should follow will in most cases boil down to one of two, a choice of either a British or American standard model. This is a choice, however, that will involve more than a set of linguistic norms – it will also involve the way in which the language is ‘packaged’ by national institutions and organisations, or what Quirk describes as “clearly distinguished cultural, institutional, regional, and political support components, British or American as the case may be” (1985: 5). The spread of culture alongside language is indeed central to some of the major ELT professional associations. There is always a cultural component to language, yet in the context of ELF this will need to be problematized, since the extent to which one or other cultural identity is relevant in contexts where English is used internationally is questionable. In such a context it is not appropriate to see the culture of the language as belonging to the British, Americans, Australians, and so on. The cultural dimension of English still tends, however, not to have been problematized. For example, TESOL describes the practice of English language teaching worldwide thus, “TESOL differs from English instruction for native speakers in

that its primary foci are on language and cultural practices in English-speaking countries” (TESOL website: www.tesol.org) despite the reality that most English language instruction, let alone use, occurs outside of these contexts. Or similarly, “we are the UK's International organization for educational opportunities and cultural relations” (British Council website www.britishcouncil.org). This is central to the emergence of discourse concerned with the global context of English. It is this conceptualization of ELT which is brought into question - namely that the teaching of English is not only based on native speaker inner circle norms but that learning the language is also assumed by many in the profession as inextricably linked to an acculturation of at least some of the customs, beliefs and values of one or other inner circle country.

So while we need to concern ourselves with the question of standard form, it is also necessary to address issues of (in)appropriateness of normative models with regard to the context of language learning. For Quirk, an acceptance of the variability of language is often accompanied by a reluctance to speak of a single standard of English, a reluctance which is in his opinion ill-suited to the teaching of English. What is needed in pedagogy he argues is the description of a unifying central core, and here reference is made to Quirk *et al's* (1985), *Grammar of Contemporary English* which is seen as just that, an effort to codify the common core features of the various standards that coexist, and thus establish patterns of behaviour for “a single educated and universally acceptable variety of English” (*ibid.*: 5). This is based on the assumption that there will be fewer differences between speakers of Standard British and Standard American English than there are between speakers of different non-standard American or British dialects. For Quirk it is necessary to consider the issue of standardization since otherwise the worry is that the emergence of multiple systems of norms will lead to the fragmentation of English into mutually exclusive and unintelligible languages, in much the same way Latin evolved into French, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, Romanian. Interestingly Quirk here includes outer as well as inner circle institutions, saying of these institutions:

They all use a form of English that is both understood and *respected* in every corner of the globe where any knowledge of any variety of English exists. They adhere to forms of English familiarly produced by only *a minority of speakers* in any of the four countries concerned. And – mere accent alone apart – they observe as uniform a standard as that manifest in any language on earth.

(Quirk 1985: 6, italics added)

Although Quirk discusses the full and broader context of English language use worldwide, acknowledging that the language is used by as many NNSs as NSs, the former are regarded as users of the language in only a very restricted sense, with a limited range of functions. It is also significant that there is a value judgement inherent in this argument, that the form of English in question is the 'respected' variety of 'minority speakers'. For Quirk we cannot dispense with a normative model, and since expanding circle speakers are seen in a restrictive light the only truly practical standard available as a teaching model will necessarily be exonormative, and reside in the inner circle. This is a point of major contention for those working in the field of ELF.

It is significant in fact that in Seidlhofer (2003), a volume dedicated to highlighting the more prominent differences of opinion and theoretical positions in applied linguistics, the first of the controversies introduced relates to the global spread of English. Seidlhofer takes up the controversy by first presenting Quirk's (1990) paper, followed by Kachru's (1991) response. The two opposing views of the NS Vs. NNS argument are crystallized in this now well-known and so called *English Today* debate, with Quirk on the one hand arguing exclusively in favour of a NS model, and Kachru on the other arguing for an acceptance of NNS models - a view also presented by among others Bamgbose (1998), Cook (1999) and Parakrama (1995).

Quirk (1990) seeks to provide a taxonomy of varieties of English, distinguishing between native and non-native branches of a linguistic node. He says of the non-native varieties:

The problem with varieties in this branch is that they are *inherently unstable*, ranged along a qualitative cline, with each speaker seeking to move to a point where the varietal characteristics reach vanishing point, and where thus, ironically, each variety is best manifest in those who by commonsense measures speak it worst.
(Quirk 1990: 5, italics added)

This though seems to ignore the fact that all language can be characterized by an inherent instability. It is the flexibility of human languages that enables them to adapt to the needs and purposes of their speakers, to change over time through contact with other languages and communities and to become transformed, grammatically, lexically, phonologically, pragmatically. For Quirk there seems to be a qualitative (but unspecified in his discussion)

difference between L1 and L2 language use. He in fact goes on to make reference to the controversial nature of distinguishing between the native and non-native speaker, a controversy to which he points out is added to by virtue of the fact that the non-native speaker branch does not have an additional node that provides for a distinction to be made between ‘institutional’ and ‘non-institutional varieties.’ Perhaps most contentiously, Quirk goes on to justify “the need for native teacher support and the need for non-native teachers to be in constant touch with the native language” (1990: 7) by quoting Coppieters (1987), who reports on research findings in relation to native Vs. non-native speaker performance differences in elicitation tests. This is an approach that is in several ways fundamentally flawed. Firstly, these institutionalized NS varieties of English are no longer based primarily on NS intuition but are instead the result of the description and codification of corpus data, as is indeed the case with ELT reference materials (for example *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English* (4th edition 2003) or Collins Cobuild’s *Advanced Learners’ Dictionary*). Secondly, the elicitation tests were conducted with NSs and NNSs of French, not English. French is not the topic of discussion, and what may represent a significant factor in a study of French or indeed any other language does not in the same way apply to the situation of English and its position as a lingua franca in the world. Quirk’s arguments regarding the need for a standard variety, issued by the then Department of Education and Science in London, are based in part on the findings of a committee of inquiry into the question of the teaching of Standard English in British schools³. What relevance though does a report on the teaching of English in secondary schools in an inner circle nation like Britain have in the wider, L2 English-speaking world? In fact Quirk asks the reader to consider this very question. The answer for Quirk lies very clearly in what he sees as the essential matter of a single standard English variety for application in all educational settings.

Kachru (1991) argues in response that there is none, regarding it as inappropriate to view the NS as the unique source of intuition. Kachru points out that accomplished

³ The Kingman Report (DES 1988) highlighted the importance of knowledge of a standard variety in education (see Crowley 2003 for a critique of the use of the term ‘standard’ in the report). Its brief was to specify the kind of linguistic training that novice teachers should receive and the kind of language awareness and usage pupils should develop. The report proposed in some ways an innovative model of the English language - it was in part descriptive, and it adopted a functional view of language (Widdowson’s endnote to the report, however, is critical of the committee’s failure to fully define the purpose of English in education). In its approach the report recommended exposure to varieties of English, or what Quirk (1990) describes dismissively as ‘half-baked quackery’.

proficient speakers may have significantly different internalizations of the language, but these internalizations are as valid in their context as are those of a NS in the inner circle, and certainly have more relevance. For Kachru, the fundamental point in the case of the global spread of English is that Quirk's concern is unfounded, in that recognizing variation and acknowledging the multiplicity of English – what Quirk refers to as 'liberation linguistics' does not then have to involve an ethos of anti-standards, and an indifference to questions of correctness or appropriacy. A major criticism levelled by Kachru at Quirk is that the latter has viewed the international spread of English from an entirely monolingual perspective. Kachru uses the term 'deficit linguistics' to refer to the position of Quirk and the monocentric stance he has adopted with regard to standard language. This notion of deficit seems particularly relevant to the way in which English is characteristically viewed in the ELT profession, where NNS use of the language is deemed always to be in some sense lacking.

Seidlhofer (2005), in revisiting Quirk's (1985, 1990) position on Standard English, highlights just how prevalent a monocentrist viewpoint continues to be, commenting that attachments to NS norms tend to be deeply entrenched. She also remarks on Quirk's apparent unawareness of institutionalized non-native varieties, which he seems reluctant to acknowledge as distinct from what he describes as 'performance varieties', varieties that are seen as mostly arbitrary and irregular. However, as Seidlhofer also observes, the extent to which expanding circle varieties are unstable is an empirical question, and one that has begun to be addressed by ELF oriented corpus studies (e.g. House 2002, James 2000, Mauranen 2003, Seidlhofer 2001). I turn now to consider some of the work that has been undertaken in the description of outer circle, or nativized Englishes, especially in light of the precedent this type of research has undoubtedly set for the systematic study of ELF.

2.4 The codification of L2 Englishes

In contrast to Quirk's (1985) view that English use outside the inner circle is functionally restricted, Kachru (1985) in the same volume regards English (at least in outer circle settings) as a language with an extended functional range used in a large number of domains, including for example government, legal systems and education. This has led to significant variation within a given institutionalised variety, which in turn entails considerable sociolinguistic consideration, with especially far reaching implications for the way in which

the language is described and codified. Despite considerable empirical data on nativized varieties of the language, for Kachru the sociolinguistic realities of the international spread of English are not fully realized since descriptions of the use of the language in non-inner circle settings have tended not to reassess the theoretical framework within which linguistic analysis is undertaken.

Attitudinally there is a conflict between perceived linguistic norms and actual language behaviour. Theoretically, linguists are still conditioned by a monolingual model for linguistic description and analysis, and have yet to provide a framework and descriptive methodology for description and analysis of a bi- or multilingual's use of language and linguistic creativity.

(Kachru 1985: 11)

Kachru goes on to distinguish the three concentric circles along additional parameters, with the nature of English use in each described respectively as *norm-providing*, *norm-developing*, and *norm-dependent*. That is, inner circle varieties are traditionally those varieties that provide the rules of acceptable behaviour, while the outer circle is more recently involved in the description of locally more relevant language use, which will often lead to the emergence of new norms of use, such as in the case of Indian English, Nigerian English or Singapore English (see e.g. respectively Agnihotri and Kanna 1994, Bamgbose 1998, Pakir 1993). Finally, the expanding circle is still regarded as entirely dependent on out of context L1 norms. In light of these parameters it is I feel interesting, in fact essential, to bear in mind the following quote.

... the global diffusion of English has taken an interesting turn: the native speakers of this language seem to have lost the exclusive prerogative to control its standardization; in fact, if current statistics are any indication, they have become a minority. This sociolinguistic fact must be accepted and its implications recognized. What we need now are new paradigms and perspectives for linguistic and pedagogical research and for understanding the linguistic creativity in multilingual situations across cultures.

(Kachru 1985: 30)

The above realization of the changing demographic of the English language reflects the very beginnings of a questioning of the theoretical framework within which English language work is conducted. Discussion of this kind clearly represents an important departure in the way in which the language is conceived of by linguists, pedagogic practitioners and language

users in each of the three settings. And without doubt the findings of Kachru and others working in the field of outer circle descriptions have seminally altered the way in which the language has ceased to be viewed as the sole property and domain of monolingual L1 English speakers. Work of this kind has been influential in untying non-L1 varieties from the inner circle, and making possible the codification of outer circle Englishes as varieties in their own right, but we have to now ask whether or not this is a sufficiently large step in terms of the change in methodological approach we take to describing and explaining this world language. We need to question the assumption that expanding circle English needs to be norm dependent, a matter which has huge relevance sociopolitically.

2.5 The political dimension

As Brutt-Griffler (2002) points out, discussions in the field of World Englishes moved from the kind of practical concerns as identified by Smith (1987), to a consideration of the political nature of the spread of English historically and the sociocultural implications of its current status as a global language. Phillipson's (1992) theoretical account of the linguistic imperialism involved in the spread and current status of English worldwide represents perhaps the most thorough investigation of the language in a political framework. Within this framework, Phillipson sees the status of English internationally as both a product and agent of linguistic and cultural dominance (see also Phillipson's 1999 critique of Crystal 1997, and Phillipson 2003 for a critical account of the current position of English in Europe). English is the single most dominant language: firstly for its colonial heritage as the language of the oppressor, and subsequently in a post-colonial history as a result of the globalization of ELT, a profession which has for Phillipson contributed to the hegemony of the current status of the language.

In a strong interpretation of this theory language is regarded as a tool used to facilitate the incorporation of a nation or people into a neo-colonialist structure, with a non-dominant country having to depend on the external expertise and support of the dominant privileged minority. Phillipson suggests that there is a certain irony in the nature of the ELT profession – not only has the post war period seen immense growth in this now billionaire industry, but the headquarters of the teaching, teacher training, and research of this international language are located in the USA and Britain, that is, in countries that are

predominantly monolingual and whose populations have a particularly poor reputation for second language learning.

Furthermore, central to a politically oriented framework lies the notion that there is a link between the spread of English and a continuation of the current imbalance in the distribution of the world's wealth and power. The precise nature of this link may be unclear and is likely to be subject to the research and interpretation required of a given context, but it is nonetheless for Phillipson a link that is necessarily there. Phillipson is critical of much of the discourse on EIL/ELF for its failure thus far to acknowledge this link, and quotes among others Burchfield (1985), who when commenting on the position of English as a lingua franca makes no reference to the economic, political, and social forces that have promoted English into its current position. Criticism is levelled not just at academic discourse for failing to acknowledge this link, but also at the ELT profession for similarly ignoring all sociocultural aspects of the spread (for Phillipson dominance) of the language.

In language pedagogy, the connections between the English language and political, economic, and military power are seldom pursued... In professional English teaching circles, English tends to be regarded as an incontrovertible boon, as does language policy and pedagogy emanating from Britain and the USA. It is felt that while English was imposed by force in colonial times, contemporary language policies are determined by the state of the market ('demand') and the force of the argument (rational planning in the light of the available 'facts'). The discourse accompanying and legitimating the export of English to the rest of the world has been so persuasive that English has been equated with progress and prosperity. (Phillipson 1992: 8, parenthesis in original)

For Phillipson, this rational planning and these available facts are typically regarded in the ELT profession and related fields of applied linguistics as common sense. Essentially however this tends to be the case instinctively so and precisely because these are not facts in any other sense than that they represent the dominant ideology. Because English occupies such an all pervasive, or in this politicised theoretical framework all 'invasive' position, the business and practice of the teaching of English as a second language needs to become more politically aware. Precisely because it is such an international activity, for Phillipson it is fundamental that practitioners in the field need to concern themselves with the social, political and economic implications necessarily involved. In so doing they need also to

become more aware that the current instinctive notion that English is of importance and value to all is more a reflection of tacitly occurring ideologies than anything else.

This is in fact addressed by Canagarajah (1999), who in part takes up a similar standpoint by viewing the spread of English within a conceptual framework of linguistic imperialism. Canagarajah goes further than simply discuss the nature of the problem however. In addition, he outlines the kind of strategies that English language teachers in ‘periphery communities’ can employ in order to enable the language to suit their particular needs, and in so doing to resist the forces of linguistic imperialism. In a periphery community, such as Canagarajah’s native Sri Lanka, the costs and benefits of education have to be weighed up and carefully assessed in a way that is often not relevant to a Western centre, which in his view will seldom need to be concerned with the same questions of identity and expression of self. Again, globalization of the ELT profession is regarded as a contributory factor, where the spread of approach and methodology often equates with a spread of ideology and educational philosophy, encompassed poignantly in the view that, “the English language itself can embody ideological and cultural values alien to these communities” (1999: 12).

To resist linguistic imperialism Canagarajah posits the need to develop a critical perspective on pedagogical practices and call into question current language teaching paradigms. Otherwise, the wholesale export and adoption of centre devised approaches to language teaching, such as a task-based, process oriented and student-centred classroom will involve not only the teaching of linguistic knowledge, but also the spread of cultural values and philosophical curriculum. Where this is the case the process will inevitably result in an alienating effect on learners. This is counter productive and potentially damaging because as Canagarajah demonstrates with reference to a case study, this alienation will often deprive the learner from gaining access to a potentially useful tool - a language of international communication through which a local voice can be expressed in a global arena. In the case study, a culturally alien classroom experience leads the student to disengage in the learning process and thus no longer have access to the language, which due to the nature of its presentation through inappropriate modes of input and with inappropriate cultural reference, will often lead to an understandably negative attitude to the language.

To counteract these issues Canagarajah calls for a *critical pedagogy*, a concept discussed at length by Giroux (1988) and Pennycook (1994, 2001). The goal of a critical pedagogy is to

develop an awareness of the dominant ideologies inherent in educational practice that can, if unaddressed, continue to favour the in-group communities whose interests and values are best served by the mainstream educational framework and continue to disadvantage the more marginal social groups. This is particularly relevant of course in the light of the above case study. For Canagarajah it is essential that English language learning is seen differently to what is customarily the case in ELT practice. Learning needs to be seen not as a detached cognitive activity that is universal in nature and which leads to pre-constructed and value free knowledge. Instead, at least in the context of a marginalized, periphery community, the learning of English needs to be regarded as a clearly and appropriately situated personal undertaking, and as a culturally oriented activity that employs modes of learning that are context relevant, and which lead to negotiated knowledge of an appropriate character rather than knowledge that is preconstructed and promoted as universal.

Pennycook defines critical pedagogy as “education grounded in a desire for social change” (1994: 297), which is again regarded as an essential requirement given that the practice of teaching English as a second language occurs on such a globally international scale. It is in other words a prerequisite in the process of confronting what Pennycook refers to as the ‘worldliness’ of English. This critical practice needs for Pennycook to involve not only an evaluation of the nature of pedagogical practice but will also necessarily include a questioning of the language itself, “a critical pedagogy of English needs to embrace a position oppositional to the central language norms *and* to the central discursive constructs” (1994: 296). We can therefore extend the critical perspective to involve not only the methodologies of the inner circle, but also the way in which we see the language itself. This looks to be an important theoretical step beyond the parameters described for example by Kachru, where expanding circle settings continue to be regarded as entirely norm dependent. However, again we must question whether this is a large enough shift in perspective if we are to render English language teaching practices as appropriate to the global context, and fully meet the requirements of a sociocultural understanding of EIL/ELF. Quite possibly it simply is not.

For Pennycook, a critical pedagogy will still depend on the linguistic norms as determined by inner circle settings, since although stating the need to “ensure that students have access to those standard forms of the language that are of significance within the context in which one teaches” (1994: 315), which will permit and encourage English to be

used in a localized way to serve the purposes of a given speech community, this more local use occurs in contrast and response to the standards as established by the L1 English speaking ELT centres. This seems an interesting framework, one which encourages linguistic difference and allows for the possibility of local change, but perhaps only in a temporary way, since within this framework a learner of English still needs to be exposed to a NS model of use – while acknowledging multiple standards on local, national and international levels, for Pennycook, “we need to make sure that students have access to those standard forms of the language linked to social and economic prestige” (1994: 317). For Pennycook it is fundamental that there is for all learners of English an equality of access to this prestige model. However, the problem lies not with access, as learners have been given this through the promotion of a NS normative model, but with the question of outcome. There may well be equality of access but not equality of outcome if a learner’s use of English continues to be measured against ‘prestige’ NS model(s). The learner will inevitably be destined to fall short of that unattainable model, and his or her language will continue to be seen in deficit terms (cf. Firth and Wagner’s 1997 critique of SLA research). In contrast to the arguments put forward thus far by Pennycook with regard to the need for critical discourse and pedagogy, this insistence on the promotion of an L1 derided model seems almost conservative in character.

Canagarajah is critical of this perhaps partial step towards a critical pedagogy, pointing out that in so much of the literature the question of a standard is seen in universal and canonic terms, the result of institutional forces - a flawed approach in that it fails to acknowledge the full reality of the position English occupies in the world. What Canagarajah proposes instead is a more dynamic ‘systematization’ of varieties of English, where multiple standards rather than a single unitary standard are provided – standards which ideally are not developed or enforced institutionally. A standard variety is in this sense for Canagarajah a ‘pragmatic system’ developed endo-normatively as the result of interaction and effective communication. This position is summarized in the following passage.

...while we must recognize the contextual appropriacy of different Englishes and teach students as many variants as possible (including more formal, public, and institutionalized variants – some of which are presently ‘owned’ by the center-based communities), it is equally important to teach students that any dialect has to be personally and communally appropriated to varying degrees in order to be

meaningful and relevant for its users. This would lead to the pluralization of standards and democratisation of access to English.
(Canagarajah 1999: 181)

It is not, however, immediately clear how this might work on a practical level, though more recently, Canagarajah (2005) provides a detailed framework for describing the relevant shifts in pedagogy that a critical perspective entails. Furthermore, this would only seem to be valid in an outer circle context, where English is used intranationally for communication within a particular community. The shift needs to be extended to include expanding circle contexts, but this is only possible if we re-examine the notion of speech community and hence conceptualize this not at the social group level - whether that group is politically, culturally or geographically determined - but rather extend the concept of community to reflect a 'community of practice' (Wenger 1998)⁴, in this case a multifarious, non-delimited international community which makes use of English as its lingua franca, an English that then has to be seen in terms different to those hitherto customarily applied in linguistic description and analysis. The development of this critical perspective, along with the increased awareness this brings of social, cultural and political dimensions inherent in English and language teaching is without doubt an important component of the growing literature in the field, and is yet another reason why current methodological practice needs to be brought into question.

2.6 Agency and ownership

In the discourse on linguistic imperialism, the inner circle nations are commonly regarded as the sole agents of language spread. That such agency is viewed one-sidedly in this way is for Brutt-Griffler (2002) a somewhat limited approach to the situation, and one that needs to be redefined and challenged, especially as it fails to acknowledge the role that non-inner circle countries have played in contributing to the spread and development of English as a global language. Indeed, as she states:

The conceptual lens of linguistic imperialism obscures the role of Africans, Asians and other peoples of the world as active agents in the process of creation of world

⁴ Cf. House (2003) who, in highlighting the heterogeneous nature of ELF speakers, similarly suggests that ELF research should adopt Wenger's concept of 'community of practice'. This will also be dealt with at length in chapter 3 and my discussion of the methodological approach to this research.

English... recognition of the agency of Africans and Asians in particular is crucial to a conception of the development of World English ... [and] ... Africans and Asians have significantly shaped the process of English spread.
(Brutt-Griffler 2002: 107)

What is needed in order to counter the customary view is an entirely different theoretical perspective on the situation; that is, one in which English spread is not unequivocally seen as the result of a process of dominant Western powers having imposed the language on the dominated non-Western recipient. Instead, a reconceived theoretical framework will for Brutt-Griffler recognize the centrality of the conventionally 'peripheral' in the current status of English as a world language.

It is interesting that in the above passage Brutt-Griffler places emphasis on African and Asian peoples. It is not entirely clear whether by this she means outer or expanding circle countries or both – and whether the way in which English has been shaped relates more to outer or expanding circle settings or both. In addition, it is striking that Brutt-Griffler sees the need to challenge the established framework of linguistic imperialism as a process which “reconceptualizes the binary through which our world is often constructed: the conflict of the ‘traditional’ (generally taken as non-Western) and the ‘modern’ (Western and often imperial)” (2002: 108, emphasis in original).

In the context of ELF, this reconceptualization needs to be taken still further, since although this position represents a shift in terms of how we view the respective natures of the two parties and reassigns the respective roles, the discourse continues to make use of a polarization of the Western and non-Western (with the latter defined by means of a negative prefix). Given that English language use occurs in so many domains and across so many national borders and cultural spheres, we have to question whether it is necessary or indeed possible to talk along these lines. However, it is of course true that any field of inquiry needs to be able to establish categories of behaviour – in light of this a more appropriate perspective might be one in which any discussion distinguishes between situations in which English is used for communication *between* and *within*, and if we are to insist on a dichotomy we can at least reverse the polarity and differentiate between ELF and non-ELF settings (with the negative prefix reassigned to the less frequent type of English use). If after all, to pluck randomly from a virtually infinite number of permutations of ELF use, a conference on the reproductive behaviours of sea turtles that takes place in say Mexico with delegates

from say The Phillipines, Brazil and anywhere in between, to what extent is it relevant to discuss language use in terms of the Western or non-Western?

Widdowson's (1994, 2003) discussions of the ownership of English, makes a similar argument in relation to the concept of agency in the spread of English. While few in applied linguistics would claim that the English language is the property of its NSs, Widdowson argues that attitudes relating to ownership are still present, only they tend to be expressed more subtly, where the argument is cloaked in the question of Standard English. The need to establish a standard and the desire thereby to ensure intelligibility (a debatable argument given that a standard is localized) leads to the assumption that it will necessarily be the NS communities, in fact a minority population of these communities, who will take centre stage and preside over the promotion of those standards. This leads to the creation of insiders and outsiders, with the prestige NS on the inside and NNS remaining outside on the periphery. Widdowson's many commentaries on the spread of English internationally are particularly interesting in that it is possible to trace a definite shift away from reliance on the NS and towards an increased sense of agency for the NNS. For example, Widdowson (1993), at least partly in line with Pennycook (1994), argues that learners need to be provided access to a Standard English (assumed to be L1 English derived) as this will allow access also to the institutions to which the privileged variety belongs, and without which empowerment would not be possible. In contrast, Widdowson (1997) views the NNS far more as an agent of the language, whose continued use of English outside L1 settings will lead to legitimate diversification.

...I would argue that English as an international language is not *distributed*, as a set of established encoded forms, unchanged into different domains of use, but it is *spread* as a virtual language.

(Widdowson 1997: 39, italics in original)

In this paper, Widdowson draws an important parallel between creative writers who exploit the language with poetic license to alter the established rules of use, and second language learners whose use of the language will often involve variations on codified forms. As Widdowson points out, in the case of the latter this is customarily regarded as evidence of failed or incomplete learning, that is, as incompetence on the part of the NNS. However, in the context of ELF this kind of variation on form that arises with second language

learning can be regarded in a more positive light. For Widdowson the ‘spread’ of English internationally is best understood as the spread of a ‘virtual language’, a set of flexible linguistic resources, which will inevitably involve more permanent and lasting linguistic innovations than the more momentary ones coined by the creative writer. It is particularly significant that Widdowson conceptualizes the non standard use of English by NNSs in this way, regarding variation on codified English as innovative rather than erroneous and inappropriate. Similarly, Brutt-Griffler in establishing the agency of NNSs in English language variation and change, regards linguistic innovation as the result of what she describes as *macroacquisition*. Nevertheless, in mainstream ELT literature and Applied Linguistics the view remains very much that such use of English of this kind is the evidence of incompleteness, or *interlanguage*, a term first introduced by Selinker (1972), but still prominent in ELT, and especially influential in SLA research (cf. Jenkins 2006a, 2006b). There are it seems double standards in operation, an issue which is clearly exemplified by Widdowson’s (2003) comparison of two apparently similar innovations, ‘depone’ and ‘propone’. The first of these is an ENL technical legal term, and is thus afforded status, while the second is a commonly used term in Indian English, and as Widdowson points out, is thus far less likely to be regarded as a legitimate innovation, despite the fact that it represents a similar resourceful and systematic use of English morphology. The data presented in chapters 4 and 5 of this thesis represent similar systematicity and innovation.

The need to problematize this conceptualization of the current state of affairs arises in relation to the notion of authority. The commonly assumed view supposes that if NSs are the ones to be uniquely responsible for the promotion of a central standard then this will inevitably bestow a sense of authority over the language, resulting in the NS elite being the proprietors and custodians of the language. Widdowson (1994, 2003) crucially calls into question this assumption, stating that to accept the argument of maintenance and establishment of standards does not necessarily involve an acceptance of NS authority. For Widdowson this is an important challenge to make due to the nature of how Standard English is usually conceived, in so much that “it tends to be the communal rather than the communicative features of Standard English that are most jealously protected” (1994: 381). It is not, therefore, primarily for reasons of ease of communication that we are commonly concerned with the question of standards, but the expression of identity and signalling of elite in-group membership.

Indeed, as Widdowson points out, the notion of guardianship over English most often leads to concerns regarding the maintenance of grammatical conformity, yet the grammatical system of English contains a relatively high occurrence of redundancy, such as the 3rd person –S, which, given the non-pro drop status of the language provides no semantic value, and is thus of little communicative consequence. In fact, it is as Widdowson highlights precisely because grammar is frequently redundant that its significance lies primarily in the expression of identity and social group allegiances, with those features of redundancy often being the most salient indicators of membership. In the case of English however, its status as a world language means that the usual communal processes embodied in language standardization and subsequent adherence to and alternatives to the established norms should no longer apply in the same way. In fact, as Widdowson comments, English “serves a whole range of different communities and their institutional purposes and these transcend traditional communal and cultural boundaries” (1994: 382). These communities that operate very often on such a global scale, for example the international business community and communities of scientific and academic research, give rise to established and institutionalised practices and conventions, which will then involve the emergence of new standards of language use - access and familiarity to which will not require NS knowledge or intuition. In all of the discourse on EIL/ELF, Widdowson (1994) is probably the first to make explicit the irrelevance of the NS to the use of English internationally, its *de facto* majority use. This is very clearly stated in the following passage.

How English develops in the world is no business whatever of native speaker in England, the United States, or anywhere else. They have no say in the matter, no right to intervene or pass judgement. They are irrelevant. The very fact that English is an international language means that no nation can have custody over it.
(Widdowson 1994: 384)

This signifies a fundamental break in the very conceptualization of the English language and its pedagogy. It represents an extremely robust challenge to a number of quintessential presuppositions of current ELT practice, such as the continued deference to the NS despite the sociolinguistic realities of the language.

The problematizing does not end there, however. In fact, similarly, Singh *et al* (1998) call into question the established classification of English language use, casting doubt over whether we can continue to distinguish between each of the three concentric circles in quite

the same way as used to be possible (see also chapter 1 for my discussion of recent challenges to the conventions of nomenclature in English language applied linguistics). Singh *et al*'s discussion centres on the customary distinctions made between the 'inner' and 'outer' circles, or 'native' Vs 'non-native' varieties, or perhaps most contentiously the 'old' and the 'new' Englishes. They point out that it is of course commonplace that a language should have a number of varieties, defined and delimited in ways which will be appropriate according to the uses and contexts to which that variety extends. If this is the case, however, they question why it is that we insist on this two-fold system of categorizing these varieties, which for them is in many ways an arbitrary classification. And, more to the point, they argue that there is no real linguistic justification in doing so. It seems that in the absence of empirical data to support this there cannot in fact be a justification for the separation on any linguistic grounds.

For this to be the case, Singh *et al* argue, all of the Englishes customarily classified under one heading would need to differ from all of the Englishes assigned to the other, and would need to do so in similar ways. Yet this is not the case, it is argued, since we cannot say that for example Indian English is different from British English in a way that is fundamentally distinct from say the way in which British English differs from American English - a position which is not substantiated by any research findings. There are no significant ways in which the varieties classified as inner circle have followed a path of development distinct from those classified as belonging to the outer circle, nor is it possible to say that there are structural properties or characteristic features pertaining to all of the varieties of one class of English but not to those of another. Despite the fact that there is no empirical data to substantiate this dichotomized view of variety in English, Singh *et al* highlight what they see as a 'fallacy in reasoning' (1998: 47), in that most of the literature continues not only to make the distinction between the inner/native/old on the one hand and outer/non-native/new on the other, but also to base discussions of variety on a contrast between a variety of one category with one from the other.

A number of other commentators (e.g. Brutt-Griffler 2002, Brutt-Griffler and Samimy 2001, and Mufwene 1998) have raised the point that the current unprecedented nature of English in the world has led to the blurring of traditional clearly defined boundaries. There is a parallel for example in the work of Mufwene, who on the subject of norms, similarly disputes the privileged status customarily bestowed upon the NS. Mufwene

(1998) argues that a more suitable arbiter of what is and is not appropriate in English usage is a 'proficient' rather than a 'native' speaker. In fact Mufwene highlights that in the case of indigenized varieties of English, which are spoken primarily 'non-natively', those who do speak this variety 'natively' are in a minority and therefore have no authority over the establishment of norms of behaviour. It is more usual for the norms of indigenized varieties of English to be determined by proficient and accomplished speakers who acquired the language not as a mother tongue but as a second or additional language, and it is they who have most authority over well-formedness and appropriateness.

Mufwene occupies a position similar to that expressed by Singh *et al*, and indeed goes further still in calling into question the categories that have been established and hitherto trusted for linguistic description and explanation. Insistence on distinguishing between the native and non-native varieties is seen as a flawed enterprise for its lack of linguistic reasoning. In addition, Mufwene (2001) argues that the way in which we distinguish between pidgins and creoles on the one hand and native languages on the other, reflects a similar fallacy. This is because the development of a creole is not in some way a special case linguistically; rather, it has come into being as a result of the same processes of restructuring that all languages undergo in their evolution. So what we have instead is a non-linguistically based, sociocultural assumption about the linguistics of language change in core communities, for example Europe, seen in contrast to and distinct from language change in 'other' settings. These settings are usually regarded as more peripheral and therefore belonging to another classification, altogether in need of special treatment. There is a close parallel here with the challenge made in Singh *et al* (1998) with regard to this separation of varieties into either the native or nativized. Mufwene provides a critical account of the native-non-native paradigm, as indeed have many other commentators (e.g. Rampton 1990, Leung, Harris and Rampton 1997). He highlights, in particular, the socially constructed nature of the terms 'native' and 'non-native' – terms that are in need in fact of some deconstructing:

Much of the linguistic theorizing that bears on the subject matter of 'native speaker' has been informed by languages spoken natively by most members of the communities with which they are associated. The tradition has thus been to select the native speaker (especially one who is monolingual and has not moved from his geographical and social environment [henceforth 'ecology'] in which his variety has

been spoken) as the ultimate reliable source of information on the norm of that language.

(Mufwene 1998: 113, square brackets in original)

This represents for Mufwene one of the areas in which discourse in linguistics has tended to favour certain idealizations that are often at odds and inconsistent with the reality of so much contemporary language use. The above quote is a case in point as for the most part the NS therein described is rare and only to be found with a certain degree of isolation.

I would argue that this isolation arises from being a NS of English living and working in an inner circle country. The monolingual NS is isolated for being one who speaks English as his or her only language, a code that is for most speakers a second or additional language, accessed primarily or uniquely for use in an international forum. Not only is it possible to include as Mufwene does the nativized varieties such as Indian or Singapore English when calling into question current idealized notions, but also to include all varieties of the language as relevant to such a paradigm shift. Indeed, if we extend the notion of speech communities to the level of a global community, then NSs of English are indeed in a minority. This means we can make the same claims regarding the question of who determines norms of English use and who has authority over the issue of appropriateness. After all, if the community with which English is most associated is not L1 English based, neither a British nor American one – nor for that matter any other cultural/political/geographical group – but with an international community, then the most reliable source of information on the suitability of English in this community will not be the minority NS members, many of whom are not members at all perhaps for their non exposure to international settings and contexts, or for their lack of ‘contamination.’ This is the term used by Mufwene to depict the way in which multilingualism is often viewed in applied linguistics. In other words, the bilingual or multilingual speaker is regarded as someone whose competence in one language system may be coloured (or perhaps tarnished) by knowledge of an additional system. In the context of NS intuition, multilingualism is seen as less reliable than monolingualism – the underlying assumption being that to be a true NS one has to speak only that language. Mufwene highlights the negativity with which a multilingual perspective is often regarded by the predominantly monolingual L1 English speaking community.

Similarly, a further point of contention raised in Brutt-Griffler (2002) relates to the fact that the most common default scenario in all fields of applied linguistics - Psycholinguistics, Sociolinguistics, SLA and so on - is based on the tacit presumption that monolingualism is the norm. This leads to a monolithic conception of the nature of language itself. An explanatory framework for understanding world English would need instead to acknowledge the bilingual nature of most speech communities, that outside of English's inner circle, monolingualism is far from being the norm, that it is in fact as Romaine (1996) highlights only true for a minority whereas language use takes place in the main in bilingual and multilingual contexts with speakers selecting from one of often several codes depending on the requirements of a particular setting.

This represents one of several significant challenges in the discourse on world Englishes. In light of this, the case for internationally relevant norms as opposed to more nativized local varieties seems strong. It is debatable though to what extent this has been taken up in the literature, much of which fails to acknowledge or actively dismisses the ELF perspective. What is required to address this situation is substantial empirical data on the nature of English used for international communication. We can only provide support to the challenges presented and further develop any of the points raised in the above sections by undertaking a systematic study of ELF settings in order that we can collect, describe and begin to explain ELF interactions.

2.7 The need for empirical data

Linguists may well have begun to discuss the wider implications of the spread of English, calling into question conventional notions regarding the identity of the NS, the appropriateness of normative models and so on. However, at the turn of the 21st century there is little to suggest that this discourse has, to any significant extent, informed current ELT practice.

Indeed, that Kachru (1985) and Quirk (1985), so early on in the discourse on international English regard variation in the expanding circle as performance related would raise few eyebrows and meet with few challenges much more recent, including some very contemporary discussions. As Jenkins (2006a) observes, this continues to be the prevalent view of language variety outside both the inner and outer circles. Kachru (1992) regards non-conformity to established norms as innovation in the outer circle, but maintains that in an

expanding circle context non-standard use is best regarded as error – it is either performance related or as evidence of an incomplete system. For Kachru, innovation can only occur if there is a firmly established and described set of local norms. It seems doubtful, however, that this is the complete picture. We need to consider whether there are other more politically motivated reasons why in much of the literature and certainly in current ELT practice, the expanding circle is still seen only as norm dependent.

Since its earliest inception a key aspect of a communicative approach to language teaching is a rejection of Chomsky's (1965) *competence* versus *performance* paradigm, where competence refers to the language system in the abstract, as internalised by an idealized native speaker, while performance concerns a given speaker's ability to process that knowledge on a productive and receptive level. Hymes' (1972) examination of *communicative competence* represents a fundamental paradigm shift, and one which has had substantial and lasting impact on the development of communicative language teaching (CLT). Hymes' powerful critique of Chomsky's wholly abstracted notion of competence signified a more appropriate theoretical framework for language teaching. To speak of competence on an abstract level, without reference to the contextual and sociolinguistic rules of language use is of little purpose. This is a position taken up in much of the early influential literature on CLT, and is discussed at length in among others Munby (1978), Widdowson (1978), Canale and Swain (1980). The notion that rules of grammar have little meaning (both in the sense of significance and semantics) independent of rules of actual use is an underlying, almost founding principle of communicative approaches. Yet despite this, throughout the period of immense growth in the teaching of English since the development of communicative approaches, the unspoken, and until recently wholly unquestioned, assumption is that language input and assessment of language use will necessarily be based upon a NS model. Despite the impact of the work of Hymes on the establishment of CLT, in language pedagogy this NS is, in addition, an idealized individual whose supposed linguistic knowledge⁵ is to be the ultimate goal of language learning. This is so in an abstract sense: in

⁵ This linguistic system is still primarily a grammatical one it seems, owing much to a Chomskyan view of language as a set of abstract level rules. This is at least primarily the case in ELT practice up to the appearance of research into the significance of lexis and the prefabricated nature of language (e.g. Nattinger and De Carrico 1992). This subsequently led to a heightened awareness of lexical phrases, and the emergence of a 'lexical approach' to language presentation, as popularized by Michael Lewis's (1993) book, *The Lexical Approach*. This has in recent years become a major concern in the practice of English language teaching, redefining to a certain extent the way in which the linguistic system is regarded by ELT

terms of the desirable social norms, grammatical rules, and so on, all of which are largely reified (Leung, Harris and Rampton 1997) rather than described and empirically determined, the NS continues to have primacy.

Leung (2005) undertakes a thorough reappraisal of the concept of communicative competence, particularly in light of ELF and World Englishes and recent fundamental shifts in language use. Hymes' (1972) inclusion of a 'social' dimension in his description of language competence means it becomes necessary to engage with the context in which language use takes place. In a much later discussion, Hymes proposes that language should be approached "neither as an abstracted form nor as an abstract correlate of a community, but as situated in the flux and pattern of communicative events" (1994: 12). As Leung crucially observes, however, the transfer of Hymes' ideas to ELT has involved "an epistemic transformation: from empirically oriented questions to an idealized pedagogic doctrine" (2005: 124). This has resulted, Leung comments, in an over reliance on the NS as a pedagogic reference point, in the language content being based on 'idealized typifications' of what the NS may do, and in the social dimension being largely reduced to interaction as it occurs between teachers and students in the context of classroom practice.

Indeed, context is regarded in the teacher training literature as a fundamental component of CLT methodology, but attention to context is largely only relevant to a limited extent. Evidence for this can be found in any of a number of introductory texts in language teacher education, including for example Scrivener (1994) and Harmer (2001), two very widely favoured texts for pre-service teacher training courses. In this literature, the concern for context is limited to a micro-level, relating primarily to the use of what might be described as a situational context for the presentation of language. That is, in order for a language item to be made teachable it needs ideally to be situated within an appropriate context, since it is commonly presumed that this will facilitate a learner's acquisition in relation to the practical uses of a given language item. In ELT the notion of context has been largely disabled by the tacit assumption that context will inevitably be NS oriented. This results in quite a mechanical view of context, and has led to prescriptivism in terms of the linguistic model to be pursued, where in effect regardless of the context of use a favoured NS norm is considered to be appropriate.

practitioners. With regard to notions of competence however, in ELT grammatical accuracy continues to hold important sway. This is discussed in detail in chapter 8 (see particularly 8.2).

It is interesting here to consider the extent to which Canale and Swain highlight the importance in English language teaching of making a distinction between a communicative competence and a communicative performance.

We think it is important to maintain these basic definitions for second language teaching and testing purposes. For example, if a communicative approach to second language teaching is adopted, then principles of syllabus design *must integrate* aspects of both grammatical competence and sociolinguistic competence. Furthermore, teaching methodology and assessment instruments must be designed so as to address not only communicative competence but also communicative performance, i.e. the actual demonstration of this knowledge in *real* second language situations and for *authentic* communication purposes.

(Canale and Swain 1980: 6, italics in original.)

Notably, this importance involves a consideration of communicative performance, or 'sociolinguistic competence' with regard to both syllabus design and assessment. However, this has not been the case in ELT current practice. With regard to syllabus design, the notion of context is fundamental to the question of pedagogic approach but has not been taken on board in terms of the linguistic model being presented - this is perhaps most manifest in relation to the development of functional syllabuses and the predominance more recently of task based approaches and NS corpus-based material, which seems to regard the terms 'authentic' and 'real' as universally applicable.

In other, wider senses the notion of context is not taken into consideration nearly as much as one might expect, given Canale and Swain's above description, reiterated throughout many subsequent discussions of CLT methodology. Assessment of English language use in current ELT practice is still based very much on a competence rather than performance level, on adherence to predetermined grammatical norms rather than any notion of 'flux'. When it comes to the question of either intra or inter-speaker variation it is only in relation to a predominantly monolingual L1 English speaker that contexts of use are regarded as valid in terms of the influence these have on a speaker's language. For a NNS, any linguistic variation is equated with 'deviation' from the established norm and is evidence of incomplete acquisition of the language (i.e. grammatical competence) system. This is certainly so with regard to the notion of *interlanguage*, and the deficit model of language learning, a further central defining aspect of the conception of language that the ELT profession has favoured and perpetuated. There is an absence of sociolinguistic content in

many current ELT teacher education programmes (a matter taken up at length in chapter 8, section 8.4), which has at least in part added to the problem. In Hymes' description of communicative competence, it is essential that we acknowledge the flexibility and variability of language in communication. This entails an awareness and appreciation of the need to gather empirical data about how speakers communicate in a given situation and in given social networks. As Leung comments, what was for Hymes an empirical question has become recontextualized in ELT as a set of normative assumptions.

In the original Hymes schema appropriateness in language use is primarily an empirical issue; one has to go out, as it were, and find data to show what appropriateness is in different settings and with different participants. [...] In the recontextualization process, however, appropriateness has turned into a pedagogic space where specific forms of language use are selected and projected as being appropriate according to some normative assumptions of language practice set in an imagined social exchange.
(2005: 131)

In addition, the ELT profession has been concerned almost exclusively with the 'how' of English language teaching, with scores of published papers and uncountable hours of conference talks devoted to a discussion of the latest methodology, without for the most part even a passing mention of the 'what'. While methodology still very much occupies centre stage in the various professional forums, the mood and situation is changing and it is becoming increasingly common for commentators to address the nature of the 'E' in ELT. Even so, in much of this discussion it is still tacitly assumed that this will be dependent on inner circle norms, with the 'real' and 'authentic' as described by Canale and Swain in the above quote not having been problematized or explicitly defined until very recently.

There has been extensive research aimed at investigating language use in specific social and cultural contexts which are compatible with a Hymesian ethnographic approach, but these are primarily of mother tongue and/or nativized Englishes (e.g. Trudgill and Hannah 2002). There is a significant paradigm shift in that linguistic description and analysis has moved away from the traditional state of affairs where the collection of empirical linguistic data was exclusively the prerogative of inner circle settings. English used outside of the predominantly monolingual inner circle countries has become legitimised, and is widely regarded as valid for codification, with emergent nativized and localized Englishes recorded in detail and described as varieties in their own right. The shift, however, has taken place

only up to a point. It is restricted in its reach in that it extends only to the outer circle and not beyond, with expanding circle English continuing to be conceived as norm dependent, and therefore somehow not valid for description and analysis, except with regard to how this language use is measured up against in deficit terms against an abstracted ENL model.

Crystal (2003) states that there is a need for empirical data on the use of English internationally, and suggests that it will be necessary to delay making any claims as to the nature of English use in international contexts since there is no reliable data available. It is interesting to note that at no point in this book length treatment of EIL, are there any references to research that *has* been conducted, such as Jenkins (2000), Seidlhofer (2001). Admittedly the field is a new one, and since Crystal's claim about the lack of reliable data, ELF research has continued to gain momentum. Nevertheless, prior to Crystal's (2003) second edition of *English as a Global Language* there had already been substantial publications of research findings in ELF (e.g. House 1999, Kasper 1998, Meierkord 2002 on pragmatics, Jenkins 2000, 2002 on phonology, and Seidlhofer 2001 on lexicogrammar). The absence of these projects in Crystal's discussion seems to be an inherent contradiction, since he is claiming that research in the field is necessary, but is apparently either unaware of, or fails to acknowledge major research oriented texts. Although in much of the discourse on the spread of English the nature of a normative model is brought into question and deemed in many ways to be problematic, the current state of affairs has for the most part been taken as a fait accompli.

Seidlhofer (2001) specifically addresses this issue, identifying the dissonance that exists between academic discourse, which has on the one hand produced significant debate on the global spread of English, and current practice in ELT, which on the other either ignores or has remained largely unaware and unaffected by these developments. As Seidlhofer points out, despite the growing discourse on the internationalisation of English, current language teaching realities continue to support a NS paradigm, deferring unequivocally to ENL normative models. She makes a strong case in calling for systematic empirical studies of lingua franca English, commenting that only by establishing ELF corpora can the 'conceptual gap' between metal level discussions and current practice be bridged. If teachers are to rely on a source other than the ENL varieties when presenting a language target or assessing learner competence then extensive research needs to be conducted in lingua franca settings to compensate for the lack of suitable descriptive and

pedagogic models for use in ELF contexts. The argument that we need to go beyond a conceptualization of ELF to conduct large-scale systematic studies of how the language is used is thus a very powerful one. This has now led to the establishment of several corpora, including VOICE (The Vienna Oxford International Corpus of English) (Seidlhofer 2001), and ELFA (English as a Lingua Franca in Academic Settings) (Mauranen 2003). In addition to these macro level projects there is also an increasing number of more micro oriented, primarily qualitative investigations into lingua franca communication, e.g. Cogo (2005) and Dewey (2003).

Despite the emergence of empirical data, no matter how gradual, and no matter how inchoate the field may have been in its early stages, increasingly we are coming to know more about the nature of ELF pragmatics, phonology and lexicogrammar (see Seidlhofer 2004 for an extensive overview of ELF research to date). Yet the required paradigmatic shift often continues not to be made. At times this is lamentably the case even in some of more recent EIL literature that should no doubt be expected to make this conceptual leap. It is striking for example that in Melchers and Shaw (2003), a text devoted to the topic of World Englishes, some 80 or so pages are dedicated to ENL varieties, 50 to nativized Englishes, and a mere 10 to a consideration of the expanding circle. It is also striking that of these 10 pages a number have been given over to a discussion of how English has influenced other languages and produced in these a high degree of borrowings from ENL varieties. There seems to be a proportional inversion here, where the English of minority use is given far more attention than that of its majority use – in other words as the focus of discussion moves away from the inner circle, which is tacitly implied to be the centre, and moves towards the ever expanding circle, it is almost as if the detail of analysis becomes ever narrower and shallower, a point which seems to be belied in the title of the section on expanding circle English, ‘A *sketch* of expanding-circle English’ (2003: 185, italics added).

The true indicator that a full paradigm shift is not in evidence here though lies in the fact that as soon as the focus of attention turns from ENL or nativized varieties, the conceptual gap becomes again apparent: variation is conceived as entirely performance related and thus not valid for systematic description. In moving from the inner to the outer circle the focus shifts from a one dimensional concept, where all variation is equated with variety, to a two dimensional one, where only some variation constitutes varietal difference, and where some variation is the result of differences in proficiency. However, this is not



discussed in relation to any theoretical framework, and no criteria are given as to how this distinction should be made. Melchers and Shaw put this situation down to the multilingual nature of the outer circle. It has to be questioned though why exactly multilingualism is seen to necessarily involve the notion of proficiency. The processes at play are the same in all of the three concentric circle settings. After all, in any ENL context not all varieties will be codified to the same extent – detailed description and codification is only usually undertaken in the case of the ‘preferred’ variety of the usually dominant socioeconomic group, which is then promoted as the standard code. This suggests that there is a double standard operating here. If a monolingual L1 English speaker displays internal variation, using for example a non standard form in one context and a standard one in another, this is regarded as an acceptable style variation and not as performance or proficiency related in the same way it is in non-inner circle settings. Finally, in moving the focus of attention on to the expanding circle contexts Melchers and Shaw return to a one-dimensional conceptualization of language variation – though this time this entirely precludes any consideration of variety. Here, language variation is solely equated with differences in levels of proficiency, and a description of norms cannot be provided:

At present standard expanding-circle English is exonormative, that is, it draws its norms for correctness from Standard English as spoken in other areas, often Britain or the USA.

(Melchers and Shaw 2003: 186)

It is currently exonormative, though this is a reality that can be accounted for entirely on sociolinguistic grounds rather than for any linguistic reasons. The intention here is not to single out Melchers and Shaw for special criticism, but to present this as one example of the many cases in the literature where scholars have failed to make the kind of paradigmatic shift so far made (Jenkins 2000, 2002) or made and explicitly called for (Seidlhofer 2001). Despite the growing body of ELF research, texts dealing with the use and/or teaching of English internationally continue to be published which fail to take full account of the findings and implications of ELF corpus projects. Despite the appearance of some very promising titles, such as McKay’s (2002) *Teaching English as an International Language: Rethinking Goals and Approaches*, and Holliday’s (2005) *The Struggle to Teach English as an International Language*, recent literature, while discussing important developments of practical concern for language

teachers, still often continues to pay disappointingly scant attention to ELF research findings. There are thus many cases where the gap between current reality and current practice continues to exist, and in fact where it continues to be the norm rather than the exception both in applied linguistics and ELT. Occasionally, there is some acknowledgement of ELF descriptions, and in fact Melchers and Shaw do go on to discuss the possibility of an endomormative expanding circle English.

However it may be becoming 'independent' and one can imagine two stages, one in which features of different varieties are mixed to create a norm, and the second in which regional expanding circle Englishes develop which have unique features due to their own substrates, etc. like the outer circle varieties.

(2003: 186, inverted commas in original)

So the possibility is acknowledged, but what is (oddly) not discussed or proposed in any way is how this shift might eventually come about.

It is time this second stage were not simply imagined and regarded somehow as a vague possibility in the future. As Jenkins (2006a) points out, however, it is not all doom and gloom, and ELF as a phenomenon seems gradually to be gaining recognition, and some of the approval sociolinguists have already given to nativized Englishes. There have been recent notable inclusions of ELF research findings in the literature, such as Ferguson's (2006) account of the relevance of new Englishes and ELF to language planning and policy in education. ELF, though, needs to continue to be more fully envisaged and realized through the collection and description of empirical data. The detailed description of corpus findings is critical if further steps are to be made towards bridging that gap and receiving that approval. The principle goal of my research project is to undertake an empirical study of this kind. As the most systematic and significant study in ELF to date (Jenkins 2000) focuses on phonology, the aim here is to focus on the lexis and grammar in an attempt to provide a description of how these can tend to manifest themselves in English used for international communication. In order to address the major issues presented in this chapter and to supplement the existing data in the field, research has been conducted in ELF settings, that is, with interactions in English among NNSs. In so doing the aim is to describe and interpret linguistic data collected during such interactions and further realize what for a number of

commentators, can apparently only be imagined. The methods and approaches taken for this data collection and interpretation are discussed in detail in the following chapter.

Chapter 3

Methodology and empirical focus

3.1 Focus of the research

The primary focus of this research project concerns the lexicogrammar of spoken discourse in ELF communication. Analysis of the data has been restricted to the lexicogrammatical in order to narrow the study and provide a specific linguistic focus, thus allowing more detailed investigation than would be possible with a broader approach. Furthermore, there have to date been a number of empirical studies in ELF, with emerging bodies of descriptive data in other linguistic fields, notably House (1999) and Meierkord (2002) in pragmatics, Jenkins (2000, 2002) in phonology. Seidlhofer (2001) presents a powerful argument for such an empirical study into the lexicogrammar of lingua franca communication. She welcomes the growth of meta-level discussions that address issues regarding lingua franca use, but laments the ‘conceptual gap’ that has opened up between applied linguistic debate, and the lack of impact this has had in current ELT practice. On this state of affairs Seidlhofer says the following:

This is not surprising if we consider that what these teachers of English generally regard ... as their main knowledge base and point of reference, the target language as codified in grammars, dictionaries and textbooks, has not moved with the tide of applied linguistics research.
(2001: 134)

Thus, despite the growing discourse on the global spread of English, current language teaching realities continue to support the nativeness paradigm and depend on NS normative models. In the absence of extensive research in lingua franca settings, it will not be possible for English language teachers to do anything but rely on ENL varieties when presenting a language target or assessing a learner’s competence. In an extensive summary of empirical research into lingua franca use, Seidlhofer (2004) comments that “English in the world is in a state of delicate balance, or what physicists call ‘unstable equilibrium’ (p. 209). That is, despite L2 English speakers being in the majority worldwide, language norms continue to be controlled by L1 speakers. Seidlhofer’s (2001) paper highlights the lack of suitable

descriptive and pedagogic models for use in ELF contexts, and calls for large-scale systematic research into how the language is used as an international lingua franca. There is therefore a clear need to go beyond a conceptualization of ELF, and work towards building a significant corpus of ELF communication upon which to base descriptions of the language. In chapter 2 I commented on how this has now led to the establishment of a growing number of corpora, such as VOICE and ELFA. It is corpora such as these that will help provide the ‘disturbance’ (borrowing further from physics) necessary to bring about a new equilibrium in which the balance is reset to reflect the current reality regarding the demography of English language users in the world.

The aim of this research is to generate on a smaller scale a corpus of NNS-NNS interaction and thus contribute to the growing body of empirical data. The description of the corpus data will focus on emerging innovations in the lexis and grammar of lingua franca communication, after which the study will seek to explain how different types of ELF might in future be characterized. To this end the following research questions were posed to provide a framework for descriptions of ELF and thereby serve as a platform from which to begin to explain the linguistic nature of international lingua franca usage.

- ❑ *What grammatical constructions and lexical items are commonly used in successful communication that would not normally be found in standard ENL varieties?*
- ❑ *Can we identify systematic features common to successful NNS-NNS interaction that could then be considered characteristic of ELF varieties?*
- ❑ *To what extent can speakers be said to accommodate towards a co-construction of emergent ELF forms?*
- ❑ *Which items in ‘non-standard’ L1 English lexicogrammar lead to miscommunication, and what might thus constitute an error in lingua franca usage?*

These research questions were formulated principally *in situ* over a period of one month spent noting preliminary observations of both naturally occurring and elicited ELF interactions. As Bogdan and Biklen (1992) suggest, research questions in qualitative research are more appropriately posed during, and as the result of, observed phenomena in

naturalistic contexts rather than by manipulating a number of variables, as would be the case in a more positivist paradigm. The research for this thesis was undertaken in this light.

3.2 Theoretical perspectives and methodological approach

There are a growing number of empirical studies that set out to investigate NNS use of English. However, these are primarily described as ‘learner’ corpora, and for this reason represent a fundamentally different approach to the one taken here. One such project being conducted on a large scale is the International Corpus of Learner English (ICLE), a corpus of written discourse produced by advanced learners from a wide range of L1 backgrounds.

The key to the difference in my approach lies in the fact that the ICLE participants are regarded as language learners, rather than L2 users in their own right. In other words, the data are collected in order to facilitate contrasts between L1 English and NNS use of the language, which thus tends to be described in deficit terms for the purpose of identifying ‘underuse’ or ‘overuse’ of certain linguistic items, thereby highlighting the difficulties NNSs have in producing (primarily written) texts. Other similar projects include the Cambridge Learners’ Corpus and the Longman Learners’ corpus, both of which consist exclusively of written discourse. Essentially, in each of these corpora the NS model remains the preferred default referent, and the theoretical perspective remains the same, in that their principal objective is to determine ways in which the NNSs’ use of English will tend to ‘deviate’ from that of the NS. In the Longman Corpus and Cambridge Corpus respectively this perspective is detailed thus:

The Longman Learners' Corpus offers so much invaluable information about the *mistakes students make* and what they already know, that it is the perfect resource for lexicographers and material writers who want to produce dictionaries and coursebooks that address students' specific needs.

(www.longman.com/dictionaries/corpus/lclearn.html, accessed on 09/03/04,

italics added).

Authors, editors and lexicographers use the CLC when they are working on books for Cambridge University Press. They can search the CLC to find examples of how *learners* use English. They can find out which words, patterns and grammatical structures are used successfully. Even more usefully than this, they can find out which areas of English cause the biggest *problems for learners*.

(www.Cambridge.org/elt/corpus/clc.htm, accessed on 09/03/04, *italics added*)

Work of this kind is without doubt exceptionally valuable in providing language teachers, assessors, and material writers with insight into the nature of some of the difficulties learners face.

In contrast, in my research participants in the study are not considered in terms of their status as learners of the language, regardless of whether they are or are not actively involved in English language study. Instead, they are deemed to be users of the language in their own right. This represents a significant shift in perspective, and one that is fundamental if the collection of such data is to provide a descriptive base, one which may in turn lead to the eventual codifications of lingua franca English. What is needed for this purpose is not a learner corpus but corpora of ELF interactions – corpora that will need to conceptualize the NNS differently from the convention of always regarding the language of NNSs as consisting of incomplete and partial systems.

Cook (1999, 2002) questions the relevance of assuming that the NS model will automatically be the most desirable outcome of language learning regardless of context. By concentrating almost exclusively on the NS, with linguists and language teachers turning to NS intuitions in the past, and to NS corpora more recently, Cook argues that the learner of English is eternally set up not to succeed. As he points out, if we set the primary goal of language learning to be the approximation of a NS target, the learner will not be able to achieve this given that most defining characteristics of the NS relate more to sociocultural factors, more related to birth rights than linguistic competence. Despite some recent problematizing and deconstructing of the issue of NS vs NNS identity, and a questioning of the notion of native-speakerness (e.g. Rampton 1990, Leung, Harris and Rampton 1997), the NS continues customarily to be regarded as a NS of English because it is his or her first language, the mother tongue, rather than for any defining linguistic characteristics. In determining who does or does not qualify as a NS, it is (assigned) biogenetic and /or geographic identity that matters and not efficiency or success in language use.

If this is the case then of course a learner of English will only ever be an outsider, will not achieve the aspired target and will never be regarded as a speaker of the language in his or her own right. Cook (1999, 2002) in fact argues that it is essential to distinguish between an *L2 learner* and *L2 user* of the language, pointing out however that this seldom happens in practice, since the status of the NS is usually implied and very seldom overtly

discussed in the literature. This inevitably relegates the NNS to the periphery of any debate or empirical study, and leads to a state of affairs wherein NSs are seen as the 'real' source of the language, and sole arbiters of what is and is not acceptable or characteristic. As Jenkins (2006b) highlights SLA as a field of enquiry seems to have had particular difficulty with the concept of an *L2 user*. Despite the debate sparked by Firth and Wagner's (1997) paper, and a number of other similar critiques (e.g. Kasper 1998, Sridhar and Sridhar 1994), mainstream SLA has continued to regard the NNS as a 'defective' communicator, including in some very recent publications (e.g. Ellis and Barkhuizen 2006)¹.

This research project makes an essential distinction between a learner and user of the language. All of the participants in the study are people who make use of English on a regular basis in either a professional or higher education capacity, and are therefore regarded as speakers of ELF and not learners of English. From my perspective it is simply not relevant to take account of whether or not these participants are, or will be in future, actively involved in English language study. This is fundamental to the design of the research, and as a result most of the participants in the corpus are not involved in English language learning. In terms of the research methods I have attempted to capture elements of both a naturalistic, partially ethnographic approach and a case study approach, with the view to create a situation in which the most relevant aspects of both have been incorporated in such a way that will best serve the purpose of this research.

Cohen *et al* (2000) discuss the strengths of conducting a case study. Principle among these is the fact that research of this kind enables one to observe effects in real contexts. They point out that case studies also aim to portray what it is like to be in a given situation, and to catch the close up reality and, using Geertz' (1973) term to furnish a 'thick description' of the participants' experiences of a situation. It is therefore important for the events to be able to speak for themselves rather than simply be interpreted or evaluated by the researcher. To this end, a number of the participants were interviewed so as to access as much data as possible. However, no matter how much an investigation of this kind intends to allow the data to speak for itself, no description can ever be entirely inference free or interpretation free. In addition, the settings of this research project (see section 3.4.1 below for details) were not chosen as case studies merely as individual contexts that can then be

¹ Jenkins (2006b) provides a detailed account of what she describes as the 'blind spots' in SLA with regard to the concept of the L2 speaker as an accomplished language user as opposed to 'deficient' learner.

generalized from to make predictions about other institutional settings in which ELF occurs. The interpretations I make in my descriptions are potentially of relevance to a bigger picture, and of value to an understanding of the wider reality of ELF populations more generally. They are individual but also characteristic instances of a multiplicity of other ELF settings in a broader sense, and it was felt that both were particularly appropriate locations for providing insight into the nature of an ELF linguistic experience in institutional/academic environments.

Yin (1984) identifies several different types of case study. These are respectively: a) exploratory (serving as a pilot to other investigations); b) descriptive (providing accounts of events; and c) explanatory (involving the testing of hypotheses). In this case study all three types are relevant and different phases of the study have embodied different case study types: the first round of recordings served as a pilot study to the later investigations; the interviews with participants proved particularly productive in adding to the description and interpretation of the initial data; and subsequent recordings provided further evidence to support or call into question the hypotheses suggested by both the initial field notes and pilot phase of the data collection.

Cohen *et al* also discuss the issue of selecting information as a key concern of case study research. They state that while it may often be useful to record typical and representative features, it can also be particularly productive not to. It may instead be the case that certain occurrences might be relatively infrequent and therefore seemingly uncharacteristic but nevertheless highly significant. An event that occurs with low frequency might be so significant as to shed important light on the nature of the research context and the kind of processes occurring. Indeed:

Case studies, in not having to seek frequencies of occurrences, can replace quantity with quality and intensity, separating the *significant few* from the *insignificant many* instances of behaviour. Significance rather than frequency is a hallmark of case studies, offering the researcher an insight into the real dynamics of situations and people.
(2000: 185)

It is with this in mind that the research was approached along the lines of a case study. This is particularly relevant in this study because of the relatively small sample size that one

researcher collecting data in an area as vast and varied as the use of English for international communication will inevitably be limited to.

3.3 ELF and the ‘community of practice’

By associating the concepts of ‘community’ and ‘practice’, Wenger (1998) points out that it is possible to characterize both in more manageable and potentially more flexible terms, to conceptualize both in ways that do not rely so heavily on aspects of culture and social structure. He observes that practice does not exist in an abstract sense, that the sources of coherence of any community do not lie in any pre-existing structure, but by means of ‘mutual engagement’ in a ‘joint enterprise’. Membership in a community of practice is therefore a matter of practical involvement within a shared framework at an operational not notional level, usually with a set of clearly defined objectives. It is this dynamic view of practices through interaction that defines a community, and it is important to realise that the term is not in this context simply a synonym for group, team, or network.

This concept has a very useful application in this research project. For the purposes of an investigation into language use in ELF settings, the collection and description of data can be undertaken in the light not of a speech community, as has customarily been the case with language corpora, but of a community defined by a similar notion of mutual engagement in joint enterprises. This is of significance to the collection of empirical data in lingua franca exchanges because it enables us to transcend geographical, political, and social boundaries that might prevent the tying together into a coherent whole these otherwise seemingly disparate, and potentially vast bodies of data derived from a wide range of speech communities. The notion of coherence is now more closely related to these mutual engagements than to any idea of social category, or group membership.

In fact Wenger is clear in untying the sense of community of practice from elements that are customarily considered the defining features of a speech community. With regard to the question of delineating the target groups from which data will be collected, adopting a similar approach enables us to conceive a level of coherence that might otherwise appear to be absent. If we take for example what might be identified in the literature as a telling case (cf. Seidlhofer 2001, 2004) of ELF interactions, say an international conference of Botanists in Sao Paulo Brazil, then geographical proximity is clearly insufficient to develop a practice. In Wenger’s (1998) study it is not because employees inhabit the same office space that they

are said to form a community of practice; rather it is because they establish and maintain relations of mutual engagement in order to achieve the tasks required of them. Delegates at our conference will originate from far and wide, from geographically, politically and culturally quite distant contexts, where of course they will belong to all manner of other, perhaps more locally defined communities of practice, and yes, L1 speech communities. It is therefore their involvement in the conference and mutual engagement in talks, colloquia, seminars, workshops, and their interactions organised around a shared purpose that delimit the community rather than geographic or social origins. It is not only through meetings or conferences that ELF communities of practice are able to convene: of course, in an age of digitized communication, the means of engagement are especially not bound geographically. Again, adopting such a view has particular benefits for the description of empirical data and for the entire question of language variety, which have in the past been inextricably linked to geographically defined groups.

Within Wenger's framework, community is defined according to mutual engagement, not according to other predetermined factors, and it is variety rather than homogeneity that is a necessary prerequisite for the establishment of a community of practice. The development of mutual relationships constitutes the most significant criterion for a community to become defined as such. The concept of community is therefore arguably a more tangible real world construct than the wholly abstract, possibly archetypal sense the word might more conventionally convey.

Because the term 'community' is usually a very positive one, I cannot emphasize enough that these interrelations arise out of engagement in practice and not out of an idealized view of what a community should be like.
(1998: 76-77, emphasis in original)

The point being made here is central to Wenger's construct of community. It is also one that has particular relevance to the state of affairs in current ELT practice. A community of practice does not necessarily involve any sense of harmony or togetherness; on the contrary, Wenger is keen to point out that conflict and tension may well be significant and characteristic features of mutual engagement. A shared practice can thus involve diverse and complex interrelations. This is of particular significance in relation to pedagogical practice

and the selection of linguistic norms, where there seem to be a number of interesting parallels.

3.4 Data collection

Cohen *et al* (2000) point out that the qualitative researcher has at his or her disposal a variety of techniques for gathering information, there being no one prescription for which data collection instruments to use. While the principle method of collection is via audio recordings², I also felt that a range of different techniques would be useful in terms of supporting and further confirming the initial findings that were suggested by the early transcribed recordings. With this in mind the data collection has tried to make use of a wide range of different techniques to better serve the purpose of gathering qualitative data. In addition to the audio recordings, there are also a number of occasions where I used field notes, participant observation and one-to-one interviews.

Silverman (2001) discusses the suitability to qualitative research of more open-ended questioning in interviews. In conducting the interviews my aim was to permit flexibility; rather than use any pre-structured or researcher-devised schedule, the intention was to enable participants to determine the sequence of discussion in their own ways. These discussions were very informal in nature, and none were recorded. The interviews proved to be particularly valuable in determining whether or not a hypothesis could be borne out. This proved to be especially useful in identifying cases of accommodation, a number of examples of which are given in the discussion of convergence in chapter 5.5. Prior to an interview participants were given a transcription of their conversation to look at in their own time, which they would then bring to the interview with them to discuss anything they wanted to remark on. Subsequently, if this had not already been covered in the interview, I would ask for comments about particular stretches of the discourse which I had highlighted as interesting cases of innovative use of the linguistic resources.

² I decided against video recordings for two reasons: firstly, it was felt not to be relevant to the line of enquiry pursued, that is, with the focus on lexicogrammatical features of language use the paralinguistic afforded by video would be of little relevance to the study; and secondly, the presence of a video camera would be more intrusive than an audio microphone, which may jeopardize the naturalistic aspects of the research settings.

The participant observations and initial field notes proved particularly productive in terms of enabling me to fully formulate the research questions. In taking field notes during less formal classroom discussions among a number of NNSs (between 3 and 5 participants in each sitting) certain attributes to the way English was being used in ELF interaction came to light. In observation of these conversations it became apparent that there was a good deal of systematicity involved in the manner in which the lexis and grammar were being used innovatively. There came to emerge a number of features in the speech patterns of participants that were distinct from L1 English norms of use in reliably predictable ways. For example, initial findings strongly suggested that there was in a number of cases, notably in the area of noun and/or verb + dependent preposition combinations, a certain sense of pattern and system in operation (these findings are dealt with more fully and with detailed description and analysis in chapter 4.) The field note stage of the study was therefore an essential data collection method, indicating initially the kind of features that were tending to emerge and, furthermore, assisting in the design of subsequent stages of the research project.

3.4.1 Context and setting

The research project was designed primarily along the lines of a case study, with the main body of data being collected within individual delimited systems. The recordings were undertaken primarily in two settings, International House, London (IH), and King's College London (KCL). IH is the flagship school of the International House World Organization (IHWOW), a network of some 130 language schools, all of which teach English as a Second language, and many of which provide classes in additional languages, as well as courses in teacher training. This affiliate network is a practical, working example of a community of practice, and one which makes use of English for the purpose of international communication. IHWOW organizes a number of conferences annually, produces a monthly newsletter, runs a system of inter-school visits for assessment and auditing purposes, and acts as an umbrella under which all IH schools establish and maintain regular contact with each other. Therefore, at an operational level there is a good deal of communication between NSs and NNSs in more 'marginal' ELF settings on the one hand, and exclusively among NNSs in what might be regarded as 'core' ELF settings on the other, where there are no NSs present. The latter is in fact more characteristic of the organization, since of the thirty or so countries that have IH schools, only a very small proportion of these are located in ENL

contexts. KCL is one of the oldest and largest colleges of the University of London. The setting for the recordings was the Department of Education and Professional Studies, which organizes undergraduate degrees, taught post-graduate degrees, research degrees, and undertakes externally funded research projects. The college and the department have a large intake of international students. In this research project the participants in the KCL recordings are regarded as members of a community of practice whose primary means of communication is English as a *lingua franca*.

I have thus taken the contexts of IH and KCL to both involve specific and characteristic instances of ELF settings. An important determining factor in choosing to situate the research in IH and KCL relates to the question of access. First as a teacher and teacher trainer at IH, and then subsequently as a lecturer at KCL, I have had access to teachers, teacher trainers, students and trainee teachers. Conducting the research was particularly unproblematic with regard to: 1) taking field notes (my role at IH often involved observation of English language classes, and so it would not be seen as unusual or particularly obtrusive by teachers and students for me to be sitting in on classes and taking notes); 2) approaching potential participants and setting up occasions for recordings to take place (knowledge of the timetabling and administration systems generally made this far easier on a practical level than would have been the case if the research had been conducted in less familiar surroundings); and 3) interviewing teachers and students about their attitudes towards the language in the case of the former, and to investigate the views and responses to the data with both the former and the latter.

The initial stage of data collection was conducted almost exclusively at IH London. This is very much a domain in which there is a great deal of ELF interaction occurring, informally outside classrooms among speakers from a wide range of L1 backgrounds (see appendix A.1 for a full list), and both formally and informally among teachers of additional languages - IH provides language tuition in Italian, Spanish, French, German, and Japanese, as well as teacher training programmes for teachers of these languages. The school can be considered therefore as an ELF community of practice: interaction between teachers who do not share the same L1 takes place in English, teacher training input for Modern Foreign Languages (MFL) is given exclusively in English, staff meetings and all intra-staff correspondence occurs in English. In addition, the school has a number of social meeting points, including a bar and restaurant, and a formally organized social programme of theatre

visits, day trips and so on. So while the context of the corpus is an ENL country, the speakers are very much part of an ELF community, and the setting for the communication is very much a lingua franca situation³. In addition, London is of course a particularly international, multilingual and multicultural context, and language learners and teachers at IH London report spending much of their time both inside and outside of school hours in an international environment, in which the majority of their English language use takes place with other L2 English speakers. The data collection is therefore not experimental in nature, but situated within the two communities of practice, very much in environments where there is a significant amount of naturally occurring ELF interaction. For this reason there are a number of aspects to the setting that are characteristic of naturalistic and ethnographic research. As Cohen, *et al* (2000) highlight, human behaviour is socially situated, context related, context dependent and context rich. This research project was planned very much with this in mind.

The second stage of the research involved a series of recordings that took place at KCL between October 2004 and June 2005. These recordings were aimed especially at gathering entirely naturally occurring rather than elicited data. The groupings range in size from dyads and triads up to groups of 5 or 6, with a total sample size of 9. Participants were selected from a group of 24 students who were enrolled for the full-time MA in ELT & Applied Linguistics at KCL for the academic year 2004-5. The total participant sample was selected on the basis of their level of involvement in class discussions and the extent to which individual class members had begun to form social groups during session intervals and outside of university contact time. It was thought that those who were more confident in taking part in classroom discussions and who I judged to have already established a pattern of social interaction would provide the most interesting and voluble data. The entire group met as a class for two three-hour sessions twice weekly. Recordings were primarily made during an interval in one of the lectures, and during the lunch break between lectures. The plan was for the recordings to become regular enough in occurrence for the participants

³ A lingua franca setting is not geographically defined, and ELF can be used in institutional and social contexts anywhere in the world. The orientation of the interlocutors rather than the geographical setting is the prime determining factor (i.e. ELF can be spoken in a meeting in London or New York, just as ENL can be spoken in Mexico City, Hong Kong etc.). In addition, a communicative event does not cease to be an ELF interaction simply if there are L1 speakers present. ELF users can be L1 speakers, but only if their presence in the interaction does not involve a shift in orientation towards ENL norms. Thus in an ELF setting, L1 speakers are expected to defer to ELF rather than vice versa.

to take as little notice as possible of the recorder and to become so accustomed to its presence that this would not inhibit communication nor have a significant influence on the topic of conversation or language use of the participants.

Mid-way through this phase of the data collection, participants attended a course in sociolinguistics, one of the core modules on the MA at KCL. This included a session on World Englishes in which participants were introduced to outer circle and expanding circle English. In addition, in the final session on the phonology component of a course in linguistic analysis, the participants were shown a video of an introductory talk on ELF and the lingua franca core given by Jennifer Jenkins at the British Council in Osaka, Japan in August 2003. This was followed up by classroom discussions with the researcher (their teacher on a number of the MA courses) on the question of adopting the lingua franca core as a pedagogical tool. They are therefore familiar with the notion of pursuing an EIL and/or ELF perspective in language teaching and have an awareness of some of the key issues involved. A number of the speakers in the corpus opted to write either an assignment or their dissertation on ELF related topics, and have thus consulted some of the literature reviewed in chapter 2, particularly Jenkins (2000) and Seidlhofer (1999, 2001).

In addition to the two principal recording sites of IH and KCL, recordings were made during several ELF settings, in both London and in Shanghai and Shenzhen, China. Having several different stages to the data collection has been invaluable in terms of enabling the research project to grow in different directions. As a result the set up and design of the data collection have been modified slightly along the way, a kind of fine-tuning geared towards better accessing the information available.

Participants were all informed of the general nature of the study, that the objective of the research was an investigation of the lexicogrammar of ELF speakers, and that each recording was part of a series of recordings that would contribute to a corpus of spoken ELF data. In addition I was clear to point out that my study involved the description of ways in which accomplished second language speakers currently use English as an international means of communication, and that I was not looking at the data in relation to notions of language 'errors'. The details and purpose of the research were explained to the participants in person, as well as being provided on an information and consent form (see appendix A.2). All of the participants included in this thesis agreed to take part in the study, expressing also

an interest and willingness for their conversations to be used in the corpus and to be contacted subsequently about their views.

3.4.2 Methods and design

The data at all phases of the research have been gathered in natural or ‘quasi-natural’ settings, with every effort made to ensure that these were as uncontrived as possible. Initial stages of the research took place in classrooms (though always outside class time), while in later stages participants were recorded outside a classroom setting in a less formal context, as I felt this would better allow the research to tap into the international communities of practice that can be observed in IH and KCL. The location for the recordings was customarily in one of the many social meeting points in both of the institutions, and in a number of cases off site in nearby cafés and so on. The recordings were also not made in the presence of the researcher as I felt that my presence during the conversations would have been intrusive, especially given my status as an ENL speaker. Instead, each session would be set up, the recording device would be started and I would leave the participants alone for an agreed period of time. In the later stages, where the recordings were not set up as such, participants would be given the recording device to take with them during the interval or lunch period.

It was also felt that if the participants were fully informed of the nature of the enquiry prior to the recordings this would influence their behaviour to the extent that the context may be compromised and the findings become distorted. Participants were therefore given some background information on the main topic of inquiry, i.e. that I was interested in the use of English as a language used primarily for international communication. The specifics of the study were only disclosed after the recordings and transcriptions had been completed with each group. This was because focusing overtly on the fact that the research project was aimed at identifying distinct characteristics of ELF lexicogrammar, would have caused speakers to become more conscious of NS norms, which might in turn inhibit innovative use of the language. Indeed, as LeCompte and Preissle (1993) point out, naturalism is fundamental to a naturalistic paradigm.

Furthermore, as few of the variables have been manipulated as possible. In deciding on the sampling for the research the only criterion that needed to be adhered to was that all participants were NNSs of English. Initially I felt that no other basis of selection would be

necessary, since the range of factors such as age, sex, L1, socio-economic and educational background, and so on would need to be as wide as possible for the sample to be representative of ELF communities more generally. In fact, as Lincoln and Guba (1985) suggest, an important difference between naturalistic and more conventional research designs lies in the nature of the objective of a study. In a more conventional design the aim is to focus on similarities and seek generalizability, whereas in a more naturalistic setting the aim is to include such a wide range of information that the uniqueness and individuality of each case can be represented. However, in addition to this and since undertaking the collection, transcription, and particularly the analysis of data, I decided to in part follow LeCompte and Preissle (1993) and identify a profile of the characteristics that a ‘typical’ subject would possess. The reason I say ‘in part’ is because these characteristics were sought after and preferred where subjects that possessed them were available, but such attributes were not a prerequisite - not possessing them would not exclude a potential participant from the study. I was particularly keen to record interactions among speakers who: 1) made frequent use of the language either professionally and / or in a higher education capacity; 2) were confident in their own use of the language; 3) used the language on a regular basis outside of an institutional setting; and 4) identified themselves in one way or another more as ‘speakers’ of English than learners of the language. Any or all of these characteristics were felt to be desirable when approaching subjects for inclusion in the study. As already suggested, given the vastness and widespread nature of this community of practice, apart from the fact that all participants would by definition need to be L2 English speakers, no other variables were controlled.

The corpus comprises 42 different communicative events, ranging from informal entirely unplanned conversations to semi-formal seminar presentations, but with a heavy bias towards naturally occurring non-instructional interactions. 38 of these communicative events have been fully transcribed, totalling approximately 8 hours in duration. The participants number 55 in total, with 17 first languages represented⁴. Each of the transcribed interactions has been numbered, from T1 – T38 for ease of reference. In the early recordings, data was gathered by elicitation via a communicative task, primarily where

⁴ Appendix A.1 shows the number of participants, their nationality and first language(s), and shows the relative proportions of each L1 represented in the corpus. Appendix B includes a table detailing each communicative event that was recorded, including information such as the length and setting of the conversation, the number of participants, and whether it has been fully transcribed or not.

participants were given a ‘problem’ and asked to reach some kind of consensus, or where participants were given a number of prompt cards to help generate discussion. In these cases they were given the cards to look through together for several minutes and asked to hold a conversation based on these topics. It was made clear that they should feel free to discuss as many or as few of these as they preferred, and in any order that felt natural or comfortable to them. In each of the interactions, but with the notable exceptions of T34-T38 (see appendix B for details), the setting was predominantly informal, non-instructional, and the researcher was absent throughout the recordings.

In the earlier phases of data collection, the rationale for using tasks was to provide some kind of structure and purpose to the conversation, but simply to give a loose framework for the talk without setting too much of an agenda. The most fundamental concern here was to elicit data without having an impact on the language produced. Initially (T1-T5), participants had been given the prompt cards to look at almost immediately before the recording was to begin, which tended to result in speakers paying closer attention to how many of the prompts they were getting through in the time allotted than to the ‘natural’ progression of the conversation, often shifting from one topic to another after a single stimulus and response rather than asking follow up questions. For this reason, in later recordings participants were instead given time to select or reject prompts for their conversation in negotiation with each other prior to the recording. Later still, participants were asked to write their own statements from which to select in the recorded interaction. And finally, the data were not elicited at all; subsequent recordings were of naturally occurring conversation. Where prompted statements were used, these were intended to be either controversial or in some way provocative in order to maximize interest and investment in the hope that speakers would be primarily engaged in message conveyance as in naturally occurring talk. It was felt that the more polemic the nature of the statement, the more involved speakers would become in the conversation, and hence the less self aware and language conscious they would be in their use of English – concerning themselves far more with communicating content information and ideas than paying attention to the lexicogrammar of the language they were using. Examples of the kind of statements used are as follows:

- *Gay couples should be allowed to adopt children*
- *Parents should be held accountable of their child's behaviour*
- *Cars should be banned from our city centers*
- *People should be allowed to use genetic engineering to pre-determine the sex of their child*
- *The USA and UK are not justified in their proposed attack on Iraq*

These were most often chosen to reflect very current issues that were, at the time the research was conducted, appearing regularly in the media. In modifying the nature of the situation for gathering data the underlying principle was always to ensure the setting was as naturalistic as possible. In the recordings made at KCL, interactions consist of mainly small talk conversations, some are more personal, while others are more work oriented exchanges. Recordings were also made in Shenzhen and Shanghai, China (28/10/03 and 04/11/03 respectively), and in both settings these conversations were also naturally occurring.

3.5 Data description and analysis

3.5.1 Transcribing the data

As Cameron (2001) observes, spoken language is by its very nature 'evanescent', and thus without careful and detailed transcription of spoken data, analysis and interpretation are not possible. For this thesis, 38 of my corpus interactions have been fully transcribed to provide a permanent representation of the data, and to thus serve as the basis for detailed analysis. Initially, I experimented with some of the established transcription conventions described in the relevant literature (e.g. Schiffrin 1994). However, these have all been devised primarily, if not exclusively, for the transcription of talk occurring in L1 speech settings, and are as a result limited in terms of their suitability for representing the distinct features of lingua franca communication. In order to enable more faithful representation of the data, I felt that it would be more appropriate to use conventions specifically devised for the transcription of ELF data. For this reason, I have made use of the VOICE transcription conventions (www.univie.ac.at/voice, last accessed 10/11/06). These conventions have been developed through extensive experience of working with precisely the kind of data that I have gathered for this research project, and were therefore felt to be particularly relevant.

The VOICE project operates on a far larger scale than this research, and the transcriptions conventions are thus far more extensive in scope than was required for my own purposes. I have therefore selected those conventions which best meet my own objectives, and have adapted one or two of the conventions for my own ease of use. This has entailed, for example, the use of first name initials for the identity of the speakers rather than numbering the speakers S1, S2 and so on. This made it easier to cross reference transcriptions of the various interactions in which the participants took part, and facilitated reference to the data during the interviews. I also felt that this was a more personalized way of approaching the data. It seemed more relevant to a small-scale corpus, and more reflective of the nature of the research setting, especially in that in many senses I am a member (albeit mostly a peripheral one) of the participants' community. Other changes relate mostly to a reduction or simplification of the VOICE conventions to suit the objectives of my research. For instance, as the focus is on lexical and grammatical innovation, pronunciation variations have not been recorded. Appendix C shows the full list of transcription conventions used.

3.5.2 Analysing the data

LeCompte and Preissle (1993) discuss the need for data analysis to commence early on in qualitative research projects, since this is required for the generation of theory. Similarly, Miles and Huberman (1984) state that the process of establishing descriptive codes needs to start sooner rather than later. In their view, late coding can lead to impoverished data analysis. Later stages of research projects involve a move from description to inference. For this to occur Cohen *et al* (2000) point out that the researcher needs to posit explanations for a given situation on the basis of evidence so far gained. It is by means of this process of hypothesis generation that data description will then feed into theory generation. This has very much informed the approach taken to the data analysis in this project. As indicated in the above discussion of the research design and methods (see 3.4), the initial phase of data collection was intended as a pilot study. The majority of the recordings taken at this stage, and then at each subsequent stage of the research, were fully transcribed in order that the segmenting and analysis of data could begin early on in the investigation.

In order to establish units of analysis for description and subsequent explanation, specification of the raw data is primarily derived from a conventional approach to grammar. The terminology used is that found commonly in pedagogic grammars (e.g. Leech *et al* 2001,

Parrott 2000), and in comprehensive grammars (e.g. Quirk *et al* 1985, Huddleston and Pullum 2002). In analysis of the data in chapters 4 and 5, the various features have been described according to word class, with metalanguage of the type *verb*, *noun*, *preposition*, *collocation* and so on. In addition, however, a systemic-functional approach to grammar was found to be useful during the analysis stages, as this in some cases facilitated the systematic organization into categories of different linguistic features. In particular, it enabled me to see patterns of similarity across a number of features, and to form hypotheses with regard to the underlying processes that have led to the emergence of an innovation. This has involved for example the use of some of the terminology devised for a functional approach to grammar, such as categorizing elements in a clause in terms of their meaning. This has included, for example, classifying Subject-Verb-Object relationships in terms of which experiential functions an item performs, using terminology such as *participant*, *process*, *circumstance* and so on (see e.g. Butt *et al* 2000, Halliday and Matthiessen 2004). This enabled a more finely tuned analysis of some aspects of the data. In chapter 4 for example (see 4.2.2) it is reported that with a number of transitive verbs in ELF interactions, there is ellipsis with the object/complement. Use of a systemic-functional approach enables the categorization of verbs into the different types of processes they represent, where for example verbs like *say*, *tell*, *discuss* etc. can be described as ‘verbal processes’, while *arrive*, *do*, *eat* can be described as ‘material processes’. This categorization of verbs into types of processes according to experiential meanings has informed some of my hypotheses about the nature of the patterns of innovation in the data.

Silverman (2001) discusses the suitability to qualitative research of more open-ended questioning in interviews. Similarly Cohen *et al* (2000) highlight this tendency thus:

The qualitative interview tends to move away from the pre-structured, standardized form and toward the open-ended or semi-structured interview ... as this enables respondents to project their own ways of defining the world. It permits flexibility rather than fixity of sequence of discussions, and it also enables participants to raise and pursue issues and matters that might not have been included in a pre-devised schedule. (Cohen *et al* 2000: 146-7)

The interviews proved to be particularly valuable in determining whether or not a hypothesis could be borne out. This proved to be especially useful in identifying cases of accommodation, a number of examples of which are given in the discussion of convergence

in chapter 5 (see 5.5.). Prior to an interview participants were given a transcription of their conversation to look at in their own time, which they would then bring to the interview with them to discuss anything they wanted to remark on. Subsequently, if this had not already been covered in the interview, I would ask for comments about particular stretches of the discourse which I had highlighted as interesting cases of innovative use of the linguistic resources.

My position regarding the description and interpretation of the data can be seen in contrast to Firth (1996), who adopts a conversation analysis (CA) approach to describing lingua franca communication. Given the origins of CA, with its roots in ethnomethodology and its establishment as a means of analyzing ENL spoken discourse, I felt that this might not be the most appropriate mode of analysis of ELF data. Most specifically, CA makes certain assumptions about the normalcy of turn taking, and aims to describe interaction in relation to what is 'typically' done in unplanned talk, making use of phenomena such as 'preferred' and 'dispreferred' moves in conversation. However, any analysis of what is considered typical, normal, preferred, and so on can only be undertaken with regard to a specific linguacultural setting. As a speaker of ENL, if I were to approach this data from a CA perspective this would inevitably involve comparison of what speakers were doing in the talk in relation to a set of ENL interactive norms.

It is perhaps as the result of adopting a CA approach that Firth and Wagner (in press), in returning to their 'reconceptualization' of SLA (Firth and Wagner 1997) seem to describe features of L2 English data by reverting to comparisons with ENL norms. Although they provide an important critique of the deficit view of L2 English as adopted in mainstream SLA (challenging the use of words like 'errors', 'fossilizations'), they describe one case of innovative expression simply as 'unidiomatic'. It may well be unidiomatic when contrasted to ENL idioms, but the speaker and interlocutors involved in this interaction may well see this in a different light. This has very much informed my approach to the data. I have made every effort to devise a terminology and analytical framework that does not depend on contrasts with ENL lexis and grammar. In addition to the established metalanguage used for linguistic analysis I have, wherever possible and practicable, aimed to devise new terms for describing the emergent features and their underlying processes that have lead to their genesis.

Silverman (2001) comments on the usefulness of combining quantitative analyses in an ethnographic, qualitative approach to research, observing that simple counts and statistical operations can strengthen the persuasiveness of any claims made, as well as give a broader picture of a corpus which might otherwise be lost in ‘intensive’ qualitative analysis. In this corpus the analysis of data has been primarily qualitative in nature. However, it was important to determine to what extent the features might be regarded as typical, and for this reason statistical analysis was used to determine the significance of the distributions of 3rd person –S and 3rd person zero (see 4.2.1). For reasons of time and space it has not been possible to conduct this kind of in depth thorough analysis for each of the items described in chapter 4.

In the early stages of analysis, transcriptions were studied individually and then annotated in places where the language was deemed to be innovative. This proved to be a very effective way of noticing the emerging patterns and trends in the data, and it very importantly meant that I became very familiar with each of the interactions, having transcribed each one personally and then read through each line by line on several occasions. Later on in the analysis, however, a more systematic approach proved to be needed if I was to be able to see the bigger picture, as it were, and to notice more of the patterns that were emerging. To this end the corpus was converted into text files and imported into Oxford WordSmith Tools for electronic corpus analysis. The first step in this process consists of producing a word-list for the corpus, which in essence entails the software reducing all repeated ‘tokens’ (i.e. individual words) into ‘types’, thus each instance of a word, say *language* is counted but the complete list displays this only once, giving the frequency this word type occurs in the text (i.e. the total number of tokens). A word-list was produced for the entire corpus, and several smaller word-lists were produced for individual conversations or groups of conversations to compare overall and relative frequencies of items. These lists can be organized in various different ways, for example in alphabetical order (making it easy to locate an individual type that might be of interest), or in order of frequency (thus enabling statistical operations to be performed). Word-lists can be given in either ascending or descending alphabetical order, and most usefully can also be ‘right-sorted’, where words are organized in reverse alphabetical order. The following table shows an extract from a word-list for my corpus which has been sorted in this way.

Table 3.1: Right-alphabetically sorted word-list (extract in descending order)

2,787	SUGGESTED	1
2,788	SUPPORTED	1
2,789	STARTED	11
2,790	ADOPTED	3
2,791	ACCEPTED	1
2,792	ADAPTED	1
2,793	DEVOTED	1
2,794	VOTED	1
2,795	CONFRONTED	1
2,796	DISAPPOINTED	2
2,797	ORIENTED	1
2,798	WANTED	10
2,799	UNITED	16
2,800	EDITED	2
2,801	BROUGHTED	3
2,802	INTERPRETED	1
2,803	CONDUCTED	1
2,804	PREDICTED	1
2,805	ADDICTED	1
2,806	CONNECTED	3
2,807	COLLECTED	4
2,808	SELECTED	1

The left hand column simply gives the number of each word type, while the right hand column shows the frequency of each word by counting the number of tokens in the corpus. In WordSmith the frequency will also be displayed as a percentage, and the number of different texts in which each word appears is recorded, thus providing important information about the overall distribution of a given item in the corpus. This has proved to be very effective in facilitating analysis of the use of inflectional and derivational morphemes. In particular, as in the case of the above table for example with the occurrence of *broughted*, this has enabled me to identify very quickly any innovative use of endings such as *-ed*, *-ing*, *-ness*, and so on, showing also how widespread and productive this feature is in the corpus. Scott and Tribble (2006) envisage other possibilities for ordering word-lists by means of morphological, phonological and semantic analysis. These might include sorting words in a text according to prefixes and suffixes via morpheme analysis, according to number of phonemes or syllables, or according to the number of meanings a word has. As the technology continues to develop, computer analysis of word-lists is bound to produce

evermore innovative ways of investigating textual patterns, and will no doubt be invaluable in revealing trends in the use of lexicogrammar in ELF communication.

In addition, word-lists can be used to reveal patterns of collocation. Alphabetical lists of word clusters rather than individual words can be used to show patterns of collocation and occurrence of multi-word units. What has proved particularly productive in my research analysis, though, is the use of concordances to show patterns of co-occurrence in the data. By examining word-lists to identify potentially interesting words, I was able to produce a concordance for any given item, such as say the definite article *the*, and thereby show ways in which ELF speakers are making use of the article system. In a concordance, the search word, or *node*, is displayed as a column in the center of the page, as shown in the following concordance of *English*, which was produced from the academic component of the BNC using WordSmith.

Concordance

137	that each knight supplied to the English king should bring three horses
138	as any twelfth-century French or English king was to do. Here he
139	who have little or no previous English Language teaching experience.
140	and learner language a. use their own English Language skills to enhance the
141	teachers entering the field of teaching English Language to adults 5.7
142	had already become established in the English language, partly through the
143	problems “ speech and English language were not good. He had
144	and one recurrent issue here is whether English law responds proportionately to
145	specific offences of endangerment, English law does contain one fairly
146	86 gives rise to a cause of action in English law at the suit of a person
147	INTERFERENCE WITH GOODS <p>ENGLISH law governing remedies for
148	amount to some form of homicide in English law. For 1987 the statistics

This concordance has been sorted in alphabetical order of the word immediately to the right of the node. In the analysis of corpus data a concordance can be sorted according to positions left and right of the node, where L1 is the word immediately preceding it, R1 is the word immediately following it, and so. In the analysis of my data it proved to be necessary to organize concordances primarily according to L1, L2, R1 and R2. In chapter 4 a number of concordances are presented to show patterns of use in the data, particularly in relation to prepositions and articles. The WordSmith software also provides a means of identifying key words in a text, highlighting items of marked frequency by comparison with a suitable

reference corpus. In the analysis of my data it was useful to identify degrees of ‘keyness’ with regard to the occurrence of certain nouns with the definite article (see 5.4.1).

3.6 Summary

It is worth considering a little further the nature of the language use recorded in this corpus. Cameron (2001) comments at some length on the distinction often made in analysis of spoken discourse between ‘ordinary’ talk, casual conversation with family and friends, and ‘institutional’ talk, where speakers interact as and with professionals. Most of the interactions included in my corpus have taken place primarily in institutional settings, and might thus be categorized as ‘institutional talk’. The distinction seems a somewhat overly simplistic one, however, as it would seem to suggest that a conversation can reliably be assigned to one or other category.

Contextual factors that shape interactions are complex and varied – and although this is in essence a corpus of ELF in institutional settings, the nature of the interactions is influenced to varying degrees by factors such as, time of day, surrounding environment, number and identity of speakers, group dynamics, topics of conversation, and so on. It is also not clear whether and to what extent the conventional distinctions are valid in ELF settings in any case, especially since – and as House (2003) also observes - much ELF interaction takes place in influential circles, which is likely to have an important bearing on the nature of this type of language use. The type of data embodied in this corpus is perhaps best described for the purpose of this thesis as social talk that occurs in institutional settings.

In terms of analysis, the primary objective has been to systematize the data and identify categories into which the emerging features could be classified. This again was done from the early stages of the research, with categories proposed with each transcription phase, and then tested and redefined during analysis of subsequent recordings. The extent to which the analysis could then extend to other ELF contexts was an important consideration of the study. In chapters 4 and 5 I have attempted to describe and account for the more salient features found in the corpus in terms of the type of linguistic feature and the nature of the underlying process that has brought about language innovation.

Chapter 4

Description of findings

4.1 The need for empirical data

As discussed at greater length in chapter 2, the current position of English in the world is unparalleled in the history of human languages. Its geographical diffusion, diversity of speakers, its range of functions internationally are unprecedented. We have also seen how it has become progressively acknowledged in applied linguistics and the ELT profession that the majority use of the language has shifted away from L1 settings and increasingly come to involve ELF communication. It is worth noting here, however, that in the case of the latter this acknowledgement has probably been more gradual and reluctant in nature, an issue that will be taken up in depth in chapter 8 in a discussion of the pedagogical implications of these research findings.

There has nevertheless been a significant increase in discourses at conferences and in peer reviewed journals and books regarding the spread of English. Llurda (2004) provides for example an overview of the recently emerged field, and a discussion of the resulting implications for English language teaching. Seidlhofer (2004) offers an extensive summary of empirical research to date, stating that the gathering of empirical data in ELF settings continues to gain momentum. The ongoing substantial shifts in the demographic trends of English speakers (see especially Graddol's 2006 projections) require that investigations into the development of English internationally should continue to gather pace. However, although there is at least some willingness to accept the argument that speakers of lingua franca English be regarded as legitimate English users in their own right, there is still an imbalance in the description of ENL and ELF in favour of the former, and at the expense of the latter.

At a time when corpus linguistics has developed as a major field of enquiry it should be surprising if there were not a good number of long established projects aimed at collecting and analysing samples of L2 English discourse. This is primarily however not the case, and, with the exception of 'learner corpora' (see detailed discussion of these in chapter 3.2), there is relatively limited data available to date. Despite the heightened interest in the field of World Englishes, there are numerous and often vast corpora of L1 varieties of

English¹, and relatively few projects in ELF. It seems in applied linguistics that scholars are happy to recognize the spread of English in terms of its functions but not so willing to accept the consequence that widespread diffusion will inexorably involve a change in language forms. When a language travels from one domain to another it of course encounters new contexts, new peoples and new languages. Through language contact it is natural and inevitable that language change occurs. This is a necessary condition of human languages – without this inherent capacity for flexibility and variability they would not travel nearly so well, since they would not be as adept at meeting the needs of the new speakers who use them.

This is of course nothing new or unique - languages have been in contact with each other since pre-history and have evolved in fundamental ways as a result. The changes that I describe below are part and parcel of the same ongoing, unending processes of language evolution. A language which no longer changes, such as Latin or Classical Greek for example, is classified in sociolinguistics as a dead language, remaining either only in a canon of literature or used for ritualised cultural and religious routines. In the case of English, a language which in particular has gone through periods of significant language contact and change, these processes of change inevitably continue to occur. In addition, it is significant that in English they are taking place in all contexts in which the language is found, including settings that go far beyond the realms of its native speakers. We are therefore currently in an untenable position, a situation where the most predominant, and so arguably most characteristic English, is overwhelmingly underrepresented with regard to empirical data.

The predominance of ENL corpora is a further indicator of the extent to which the significance of the native speaker is customarily overstated in any discussion about the current status and future development of English. This is especially the case if we take account of Graddol's (1999) projected trajectory of English, in which he argues that by 2050 speakers of nativized Englishes will far outnumber speakers of native English, that English will be used primarily as a second language in multilingual contexts. If ELF scholars are

¹ I shall give here just a few of the many notable examples: CANCODE (Cambridge and Nottingham Corpus of Discourse in English) is a computerized database comprising 5 million transcribed and coded words of spoken discourse; The BNC (British National Corpus) is a 100 million word collection of spoken and written discourse (10 million spoken, 90 million written); and ICE – GB, the British component of ICE (International Corpus of English), is the first completed corpus of some twenty planned national and regional (including outer circle varieties) corpora of English, and consists of one million words of spoken and written samples of British English.

accurate in their predictions this figure will consist not simply of speakers of English in the outer circle but also, and in fact largely, of L2 users of English in the expanding circle.

Thus far, however, this has remained a concept that has not been accepted in the expanding circle (incidentally the only context where it is still customary to refer to 'English' solely in the singular form), in other words where it is customary to momentarily suspend, or perhaps *forget*, the fundamental sociolinguistic reality of the pluralism inherent in language. We talk of 'World Englishes' in contexts where an L1 dialect is involved, or where an indiginized variety is the topic of discussion, but occurrence of 'Englishes' in discourse that focuses on ELF settings is very much limited to those conducting research in this field. Even then the use of the plural is sporadic and many researchers in ELF will refer to the subject of analysis in the singular form, unwittingly complicit perhaps in perpetuating the myth that English can be understood as a monolithic entity. This has also left ELF researchers open to criticism and accusations of monocentricity by outer circle scholars. It is certainly the case at least that our discussion of the 'E' in ELF is most often inferred in this way, and interpreted to mean that one of our intended goals is to legislate about language use. Perhaps it would suit our purpose better if we discussed *lingua franca Englishes* or if we were even more explicit than we already are in stating that the 'E' in ELF is to be interpreted plurally.

Seidlhofer (2004) poignantly remarks that although the causes and consequences of the global spread of English have been critically discussed at some length, there has been little consideration of what effect this is having on the forms of the language. In addition she points out that existing empirical studies have focused on phonology (Jenkins 1998, 2000, 2002) and pragmatics (Meierkord 1996, 2002, House 1999, 2002), with very little at the level of lexicogrammar, where least description has taken place. This dearth is attributed to the likelihood that a significantly larger corpus would be required for findings to be regarded as reliable. The data gathered in VOICE can provide the kind of large scale corpus necessary for the description of language on any level. And while primarily intended to form the basis of any kind of language area ELF researchers may be interested in, Seidlhofer also indicates that a particularly useful research aim would be to build on the findings of pragmatics and phonology by focusing on the lexicogrammar. She adds that while there have been no quantitative studies of characteristic lexicogrammatical features, regular tendencies continue to emerge in the data, which can be summarized as:

- Dropping 3rd person present simple -s
- Confusing the relative pronouns *who* and *which*
- Omitting definite and indefinite articles where they are obligatory in ENL, and inserting them where they do not occur in ENL
- Failing to use correct forms in tag questions
- Inserting redundant prepositions, as in *we have to study about*
- Overusing certain words of high semantic generality, such as *do, have, make, take*
- Replacing infinitive constructions with *that* clauses, as in *I want that*
- Overdoing explicitness, as in *black color* rather than just *black*

(Adapted from Seidlhofer 2004: 220)

It is important to note here that these features are presented not as conclusive results but as hypotheses about what might constitute characteristics of ELF lexicogrammar. In making these hypotheses Seidlhofer importantly points out that these would all likely be regarded by language teachers as typical learner errors, and therefore afforded considerable classroom time and attention. There is, however, some dissonance in the way in which Seidlhofer describes these features: in presenting such a strong case for regarding ELF interactions as “*sui generis*” (2004: 211, here quoting from House 1999), and ELF speakers as “agents of language change” (2004: 212, and here quoting from Brutt-Griffler 2002), it is perhaps surprising, and a great pity that the language used to report these findings is reminiscent of language used in error analysis. The features listed seem to be defined according to negative criteria, such as ‘confusing’, ‘failing to use’, ‘overusing’ ‘overdoing’. This issue is also raised by Ferguson (2006), and although in more recent work ELF scholars have begun to reconsider the naming of these features (see e.g. Jenkins 2004), the fact that a linguist so central to the establishment of ELF as a valid field of enquiry has herself expressed these hypotheses in a negative light suggests the extent of the task involved in coming to terms with the formal implications of ELF. Nevertheless, Seidlhofer’s hypotheses, although preliminary in nature, are intended as examples of ELF variants in their own right and therefore of particular interest to any attempt to provide description of innovations in the lexis and grammar of lingua franca communication. It thus illustrates the extent of the

problem that even scholars most at the forefront of ELF research can fall into the trap of describing lingua franca English in terms that reflect the old paradigm, one they have challenged and redefined. I turn now to my own findings, which corroborate each of the recurrent themes identified above, and which in addition indicate other quite different – though in terms of the processes leading to their emergence similar – regular lexicogrammatical features of ELF.

4.2 The data²

The establishment of several corpora, including ELFA (English as a Lingua Franca in Academic Settings) Mauranen (2003), as well as VOICE, open increased opportunities for systematically studying the nature of ELF interactions and greatly facilitate the initial stages of describing lingua franca English. In describing the tendencies that have emerged in a smaller scale corpus (approx. 60,000 transcribed words of spoken discourse) of ELF, it is my aim to contribute to addressing the dearth in empirical data. To this end I approach the issue from a micro-level perspective with the aim of giving a qualitative description of the most frequent lexicogrammatical forms occurring in the data.

It is important here to make clear that without exception all of the features presented below have been included for their typicality. That is, all are deemed to be indicative of emerging patterns and trends in ELF use and are judged to have met the following four key criteria. Firstly, they are systematic in nature, and have been carefully investigated in this light using WordSmith to produce word-lists and concordances. Secondly, they occur frequently in the data – all have been produced on numerous occasions by numerous speakers from a variety of L1 backgrounds. Thirdly, they are communicatively effective – in none of the attested examples do they lead to a breakdown in communication. The presence in the data of each of these aspects will be demonstrated in the discussion below, with statistical analysis used to substantiate claims about frequency, and use of concordance software to establish patterns of language use and determine levels of systematicity. Finally, in meeting the above criteria these features may therefore be considered non-L1 variants (not errors), differing from standard L1 equivalents but not regarded as erroneous or deviant.

² As mentioned in chapter 3, the transcribed interactions have been numbered for ease of reference. Appendix D contains a collection of these (T2, T8, T23, T29, T30, T34). These are intended as a representative sample of the corpus, and they are also among the interactions most quoted in chapters 4 and 5. For reasons of space it has not been possible to include all 38 transcriptions – these are available on CD.

4.2.1 3rd person singular zero

The use of present simple verbs in 3rd person singular with omission of the *s* morpheme occurs particularly frequently in the data (Breiteneder 2005 reports similar findings regarding the use of 3rd person singular verbs in a small scale ELF corpus). It is a feature common to many of the interactions recorded over the entire three-year period of data collection, as can be seen from the total number of incidents of 3rd person zero recorded in the table given in appendix E, and summarized below in table 4.1. As a reflection of the frequency and regularity of this feature I see its occurrence in the data as indicative of the *use* of a linguistic option, and not in a more negative light as an omission or ‘dropping’ of an item. To borrow a term used by Roach (2000) in reference to elision in phonology, we can perhaps better describe the occurrence of this feature as a *zero realization* as opposed to an omission of *-s*. It also appears from the data that the 3rd person zero is the variant that is winning this competition, and is, in other words, the feature emerging as the default option in informal naturally occurring communications. It is for this reason that I have chosen, in line with contemporary analysis of spoken data in L1 English varieties, to describe this feature as 3rd person singular zero (see e.g. Trudgill’s 2002 treatment of 3rd person *-s* in his discussion of African American Vernacular English and East Anglian dialects)³.

The contrast in the labelling of this phenomenon in fact is striking. In ENL varieties this is customarily regarded by sociolinguists as a stable and legitimate feature, and labelled accordingly, whereas in analysis of L2 English in the expanding circle this is mostly regarded as a ‘non-feature’. It is treated simply as the omission of an item that is absent not by design but as the result of a lack of control over the target language system or ignorance of that target. The treatment of this feature in sociolinguistics is often parallel to the perception of L1 dialects in non-specialist contexts, where any variation is generally regarded as substandard deviation. Here, and throughout the data analysis, I have therefore attempted to avoid labelling which connotes a negative construct, and have instead chosen labels that reflect the fact that these features represent active choices in the way a set of linguistic resources is being used. Following this, it is thus not the case that 3rd person *-s* is being

³ This matter of how 3rd person singular forms are described in studies of L1 English variation will be taken up further in chapter 5 during a discussion of the underlying causes and motives for language changes in ELF.

‘dropped’, rather that 3rd person –s and 3rd person zero are competing variants in ELF communication.

Table 4.1: 3rd person singular verbs

Relative Use of 3 rd person –S and Zero (Total no. of occurrences for 3 rd person singular verbs = 276)			
Main Verbs		Auxiliary Verbs	
3 rd Person – S	3 rd Person Zero	3 rd Person – S	3 rd Person Zero
103	108	62	3

The data for this feature have been categorised according to whether an item is a main or auxiliary verb. This was initially not part of the design of the data collection, but something which emerged as important during the analysis phase. It soon became apparent that recording items in this way mattered, since there seemed to be such a significant difference between 3rd person marking depending on whether a verb functions propositionally as a main verb or merely grammatically as an auxiliary. I will discuss each of these in turn, beginning with the larger, and in terms of their emerging patterns of behaviour, the more interesting category of main prepositional verbs.

As can be seen from the above table there is a fairly even distribution of both items in terms of the total number of occurrences of 3rd person singular -s and 3rd person singular zero in main, non-auxiliary verbs. Respectively they represent very approximately 48% and 52% of all verbs of proposition that occur in 3rd person singular present forms. There is however a marked difference in the nature of this distribution. Most importantly, (see appendix E) the 3rd person zero recurs in numerous settings and domains, constituting one of the more salient and widespread features. There are 34 interactions containing examples where 3rd person singular forms occur in main verbs; for the significant majority of these, 24 (or 70% of the total number of conversations containing 3rd person present forms) include examples of 3rd person zero. The use of 3rd person zero is thus not restricted by the nature of the ELF setting, the L1 of the speakers involved or the linguistic context; its use is shared by a considerable number of speakers irrespective of first language.

The same cannot be said of the 3rd person –s however. There are for example particular restrictions governing the use of the –s form in present simple verbs. These operate on two levels: firstly, the situational context of an interaction has an important bearing on the probability of the form to occur in place of the zero marker; and secondly, the linguistic context is an important influencing factor in the case of the –s form. For the most part instances of 3rd person –s are widely dispersed, with many interactions having no or only single occurrences of this form (of the 32 communicative events where –s does appear, in 11 of these it occurs only once). The number of interactions containing high frequency scores for –s is relatively low. Significantly these appear in clusters of events, as is the case for example with T28 and T29, which have high frequency scores for 3rd person –s, respectively 11 and 6, far higher than the mean score. Even more significant are the relatively low frequencies of 3rd person zero that occur in these interactions. The settings for these two anomalous communicative events are untypical of others in the data, and it should be said untypical of ELF interactions more generally. In both of these interactions the setting is uncharacteristically formal in nature: the recordings were taken in classrooms during an interval in an English language class (see appendix B for details regarding situational context), and uncharacteristically in the presence of a NS teacher, who in T28 was a silent observer, and who in T29 actively took part in the conversation.

Out of a total 42 ELF interactions in only 5 of these was there an L1 English speaker present, which was usually not by design but an unplanned and unavoidable occurrence.⁴ If we exclude these cases from the data analysis the overall frequencies and their relative importance to each other are altered significantly, as can be seen below in table 4.2. The table shows how the number of 3rd person –s forms is significantly reduced when the interactions involving L1 speakers are excluded, and how the total number of 3rd person zero forms is affected far more slightly. In the case of 3rd person –s the frequency score has been reduced by 31 to a total of 72, which put another way means that a significant number of –s forms, about 43% of all main verbs in 3rd person singular present tense, occur in interactions where there is one or more L1 speaker present.

⁴ As discussed in chapter 3, an interaction does not simply cease to be an ELF interaction if there are L1 speakers present. Providing the situation involves L2 speakers from more than one L1 background, and providing also that the L1 speakers are in a minority the language is still being used primarily as a lingua franca and the context can thus still be characterized as an ELF setting.

Table 4.2: ELF settings and the impact on 3rd person singular of L1 speakers

<i>ELF interactions</i>	3 rd person –s	3 rd person zero
L2 English speakers only	72	99
L2 English speakers and L1 English speakers present	31	9
Totals	103	108

In order to add support to these preliminary observations and to investigate further the effect of context on the use of the two 3rd person singular options, the data were subjected to statistical analysis. A simple *chi*-square test was carried out on the 3rd person singular present tense verbs, where each communicative event was categorised according to whether L1 speakers were present or absent during the interaction. The total frequencies of 3rd person –s and zero forms occurring in the two types of event were then recorded in order to determine the significance of L1 English speakers on the distribution of each form. The value of χ^2 obtained in the test was 14.85, which exceeds the tabulated critical value of 10.83 and is thus significant at the 0.0005 level for a one-tailed test ($\chi^2 = 14.85$, $df = 1$). The null hypothesis can thus be rejected, and it can therefore be concluded that the presence of L1 speakers in an interaction has a significant effect on the relative frequencies of the two forms, with a greater likelihood for 3rd person –s forms to occur during interactions in which L1 speakers are present and a far greater likelihood for the 3rd person zero option to occur in interactions involving exclusively L2 English speakers. It then follows that the 3rd person zero is emerging as the more characteristic, unmarked feature for present simple verb forms in ELF communications.

This finding is further corroborated if we take into account the nature of the linguistic contexts in which the zero and –s variants occur. In the case of 3rd person zero there seem to be no limits to the linguistic contexts in which the variant can occur. The range of verbs is far greater for the zero form than the –s form, covering a wide variety of different main verbs and representing all manner of different processes. Figure 4.1 below

shows a limited number of examples of main verbs expressed with the 3rd person zero variant.

Figure 4.1: Cases of 3rd person singular zero

Example	Source
and er the stage <u>involve</u> er working and also studying...erm it's good job because if some... if one woman <u>have</u> a very ugly appearance so... erm she hm... she <u>have</u> hm... if she <u>have</u> some complex	T4: 23 L1 Italian T10: 62 L1 Korean
yes so. but hm... if er if somebody hm <u>take</u> a a disadvantage because of they – their appearance i think they should er take surgery - plastic surgery	T10: 65 L1 Korean
yeah exactly because you don't have the same – the same values really of somebody who <u>grow up</u> in a family place...	T20: 49 L1 French/Spanish
no no no (,) i mean if somebody <u>do</u> a very severe... crime	T24: 378 L1 Mandarin

The number of examples represented here is only very small, but nonetheless they illustrate that in a fairly limited and random sample a range of different verb types occur, including in one of these the phrasal verb ‘grow up’. The total range of different verbs occurring in the data with the zero marker is very broad indeed, almost to the point of being infinite in their variety. In contrast, this kind of variety does not seem to be reflected in the examples of 3rd person –s, where a far narrower range can be observed. In the table given in appendix E, the final column, labelled ‘Notes on 3rd person –s’, contains a record of each individual verb in which the –s form has been sighted. The overall range seems to be quite low, and certain verbs continue to appear time and time again. Approximately half of all cases of 3rd person –s occurring in main verbs can be accounted for by only 4 verbs: *has*, *means*, *looks*, and *depends*. The frequency scores for these are as follows:

<i>Has</i>	15
<i>Means</i>	15
<i>Depends</i>	10
<i>Looks</i>	9
Total =	49, or >47% of all 3 rd person –s forms

Notably, but with the exception of *has*, these are not necessarily high frequency items. It seems to be the case that these forms recur with high frequency in the data because they form part of a prefabricated chunk of language: in many cases for example the verb co-occurs with greater than chance frequency with a preposition or adverb as part of a ‘strong’ collocation, as evidenced with *depends on* and *looks like*, which both appear numerous times in the data.

The situation with 3rd person singular auxiliary verbs, which include *does*, *doesn’t*, *has*, (as well as the contracted *’s*, for example in *he’s been/she’s had*) and *hasn’t*⁵ is very different from the present tense singular marking with main verbs. In these cases the zero variant appears in only 3 out of the 65 occurrences of auxiliary 3rd person verbs or just over 4% of the total. The overall occurrences of 3rd person present singular verbs in the data, with a total of only 211, seems relatively low for a corpus of 60,000 words plus, which may be due to something in the nature of these particular interactions or may prove to be indicative of a more general trend in ELF communication. This will require much further data collection and systematic analysis of a far larger ELF corpus, followed by comparison of similar communicative events across different types of corpora. These would ideally involve both L1 and L2 Englishes to enable broader trends, differences, and similarities in patterns of language use to be identified. To return for now though to the high number of 3rd person *–s* auxiliaries occurring in the data, there are several points that need to be highlighted.

Firstly, the number of instances where *–s* features in an auxiliary is proportionally significant: of the combined 3rd person *–s* totals for auxiliaries and main verbs (N=165), 62 of these (approximately 38%) are auxiliaries; if though we remove the cases of *–s* that occur in interactions with L1 English speakers present, the ratio increases to 68% (49 out of a total 72) of all *–s* forms occurring in auxiliary verbs. The proliferation of 3rd person *–s* primarily in verbs that perform functions of tense and aspect or which serve as morphological marking in questions and negatives reinforces the notion that *–s* performs no real communicative function. It is absent (but not missing) from the majority of propositional verbs, and present

⁵ 3rd person present singular forms for ‘be’ copula and auxiliary verbs have not been included in this section. The ‘be’ verb is something of an anomaly in the data, and it does not seem to be following the patterns of any of the other verbs. There seems to be a very different situation emerging with regard to the use of 3rd person forms with ‘be’, and for this reason the verb needs to be treated independently. For reasons of space this is not possible in this thesis.

in the majority of auxiliary verbs. In addition to this, the use of the 3rd person zero in auxiliaries seems quite idiosyncratic. Not only is the overall number very low but also, and perhaps most significantly, the distribution is very specific and limited in setting, with all of the three examples produced by L1 Mandarin speakers. In T32 the interaction takes place in London, in a multilingual setting with 5 participants present: the speakers are L1 Arabic, L1 Urdu, and 3 with L1 Mandarin. It is significant that the zero auxiliary occurs in an adjacency pair involving two of the L1 Mandarin speakers. The other interaction takes place in Shanghai, China during an informal meeting between colleagues where all but one of the participants were L1 Mandarin. The use of the 3rd person singular zero in auxiliary verbs therefore may prove to be an emerging feature (but even here its occurrence is so far very limited) in Mandarin English only, or a limited number of lingua franca Englishes but perhaps not as a characteristic of ELF communication more generally.

To return to the issue of situational context, the impact had by the presence of an L1 English speaker on the lexicogrammar of ELF interactions can be observed in a number of places in the data. The following extract perhaps best illustrates how accommodation operates and - at least in this semi-formal setting where deference to the authority of a NS teacher might be expected – how there is convergence towards the speech patterns of the L1 speaker. The extracts are all taken from T29, a conversation that took place at the end of an advanced level language class at International House London, in which the teacher and students had used material from unit 1 of *Cutting Edge Advanced* which presents reading texts, listening texts and discussion tasks on the topic of English as an International Language. The participants: Vicky, L1 English, Naoko, L1 Japanese, and Lucy, L1 Russian, are here discussing their views about the topic of the material, and in the first extract Vicky, the teacher of the lesson asks the students for their opinions on the notion of ownership and the spread of English.

- V: ok (...) alright erm (,) how (,) how do you feel then T29
about this idea of ownership of english (,) that it belongs to Lines 277-286
everybody?
- N: h (..) to everybody means?
- V: that it belongs to everybody (,) so that anybody who
<1> speaks english </1> it belongs to them
- N: <1> speaks english </1>
- L: as i already said it's erm (,) initially it belongs to your
culture to: british people and american and (xx) people and (,)

the (,) british english wa - were – was born here and american
was born in america and now as well (,) it's spreading but as
you see it's spreading and it's er losing its native er: roots

In her second turn here Naoko uses the 3rd person –s for the present simple of the verb 'speak', then in the following line Lucy uses the –s form in 'belongs'. It is noteworthy that both uses of the form occur in close proximity to 3rd present singular verbs spoken by Vicky, the L1 English speaker. Lucy repeats 'belongs' in her response to the question after Vicky has already used the form three times when posing the question, which strongly suggests the –s occurs as the result of Lucy converging towards the L1 pattern. For Naoko it seems even clearer that accommodation is at play. Her utterance of 'speaks' occurs entirely in isolation and is given with no follow up, serving thus as purely an echo of Vicky's own utterance – its function is not to communicate a proposition; rather it appears to be an important discourse strategy, there to show interest and agreement with her interlocutor and to serve a co-operative principle. It is also worth highlighting briefly here the content of Lucy's turn, where she comments that as English continues to spread internationally it loses its native roots. It is worth considering to what extent English language learners and teachers in different contexts have awareness of issues regarding the spread of English. This matter will be taken up further and dealt with in detail in a discussion of the pedagogical implications of the findings in chapter 8.

The occurrences of 3rd person –s in the above extract can be shown to be in direct contrast to the use of the 3rd person zero in the following exchange that occurs earlier in the same conversation.

- | | | |
|----|--|-----------------|
| L: | and after i i have the same result as as another | T29 |
| | person who: who <u>make</u> these mistakes | Lines 132 - 140 |
| V: | yeah | |
| L: | so i feel disappointed because i spend my time | |
| | and er: there is no reason for them | |
| V: | yeah | |
| L: | for for native speakers they er (,) accept me as | |
| | well as they accept her | |
| V: | yes (,) but i mean you know native speakers | |
| | themselves (,) there's a lot of difference in the way native | |
| | speakers SPEAK (,) for example | |

Here Lucy uses the zero form to express 3rd person singular present tense. It is notable that this occurs towards the end of a fairly long stretch of turns in which Lucy and Naoko are

more active participants than Vicky, whose presence in the discourse is far less prominent than it was in extract 1. This is further evidence to suggest that the more natural option for 3rd person singular verbs is the zero variant, since in this extract the verb occurs not as a repetition or echo of an L1 speaker but as the expression of a proposition between two L2 speakers. Accommodation has not altered the default pattern, and the 3rd person –s has not occurred. This use of ‘make’ with zero marking is far more representative of the behaviour of 3rd person singular verbs in the data, and thus possibly more typical of informal ELF communication in general. That the form occurs here despite the semi-formality of the situation and the presence of a NS teacher indicates the strength of this naturalness. It is also worth noting that, perhaps ironically, the form occurs here despite the 3rd person –s being explicitly discussed previously in the conversation, with Lucy insisting that it had always been important for her to have teachers who corrected her if she did not use the form.

There is another way in which the presence of an L1 English speaker in ELF settings can alter the patterns and trends that seem to be emerging as characteristic features of ELF communication. This can be illustrated very clearly in extract 3.

-L: and (.) for people who wants to know culture and T29
 who wants to know er know deep – er deeply British Line 343
 nation and er or American for example (.) they need to
 know these things

The 3rd person –s occurs here as a marker of a plural verb, with the subject ‘people’. This is extremely uncommon in the data, and occurs in only one other place in the 40 communicative events analysed. It is probably the case that during the discussion of grammatical rules, teaching methods, error correction and so on, Lucy has become so aware of the –s form and its frequent use by Vicky in the conversation that she has shifted away from her more usual, more natural zero form, and she is here consciously attaching the morpheme to both singular and plural 3rd person present simple verbs. She has become so aware of the differences between her and Vicky’s patterns of speech that she is consciously accommodating towards Vicky and ‘hyper-converging’ (‘hypercorrection’ in ELT) towards her use of this form– so much so that her language becomes unnatural, untypical and very marked for its difference to how she uses English in her more characteristic ELF communications.

With regard to the use of 3rd person singular zero I think I will give the last word to Vicky, a teacher and teacher trainer with over 15 years' experience as an ELT practitioner. This final extract occurs quite early on in the same conversation, and as it raises important issues with regard to current practice in ELT, it is given here in anticipation of the pedagogical considerations dealt with in chapter 8.

- V: and because i've tried to (,) you know (,) focus on T29
 it (,) but i know that for example third person S (,) there's Lines 56- 63
 no point correcting people there is no point because
 nothing happens
 N: @@
 V: you can point it out again and again and as soon
 as you say what's wrong with this? people know what's
 wrong with it but (,) they can't use it until they're ready to
 use it so there's - i actually don't even bother with it
 anymore
 N: right

4.2.2 *Transitivity*

There are numerous verbs which are in L1 Englishes transitive but that occur in the data with the omission of an accompanying object or complement. It is in fact one of the features that led to the formation of the initial research questions and my hypothesis that these linguistic items were systematic in nature and far from random inaccuracies.

Figure 4.2 shows a sample of transitive verbs behaving in this way. In each case the omitted complement or object is either explicitly stated previously or it is clearly implied. Often, as happens in a number of the occurrences, omission occurs where earlier in the same turn the speaker has already stated the complement: for example with 'regret' in 'last year I was living in Exeter but erm...actually I really regret', it is clear that 'living in Exeter' serves as the complement and does not need to be restated for the message to be understood. In standard L1 English, and despite the apparent redundancy, the element would reoccur, with speakers having a number of options for anaphoric reference, such as the pronoun *it*, the deictic pronoun *that*, or through rephrasing via the use of a synonym and pronoun, for example *doing that/being there*. That the speaker here has not taken any of these options has not altered the effectiveness of the turn in conveying meaning. The proposition is transparent; non use of a complement has affected only the surface form, removing the redundancy of any repetition but not the clarity of the message. In other cases the

complement or object is stated in an earlier turn, sometimes by the speaker of the utterance that contains the omission, sometimes by a different participant. In the case of ‘know’ in 4.4 the omission occurs in the second part of an interrupted turn, where ‘European people’ the subject of ‘is a little bit strange’ serves as the object of ‘know’ but without being repeated or replaced with the pronoun *them* as would be expected. Once again it is evident that this does not lead to a break down in the communication, and the conversation continues unhindered. In fact nowhere in the data is there evidence to suggest these omissions lead to miscommunication or even momentary interruption to the flow of an interaction.

Figure 4.2: Cases of complement ellipsis

Item	Example	Source
Want	but (.) er: last summer i i took drive license (.) so er maybe last last year my hobby is er drive (.) with my family with my parents but they don't <u>want</u> actually"	T1 – line 20
Regret	last month i was living in exeter but erm: <u>actually i really regret</u> so I decided to move to London	T1 – line 42
Go + with	A <u>you have to go with</u> B I think so	T4 – line 26
Communicate + with	B: then i can <u>communicate with</u> erm more fluently	T6 – line 17
Allow	would you allow gay couples to adopt or wouldn't you <u>allow</u> ?	T22 – line 122
Know	L: but for me the european people... is er a little bit strange S: @@@ F: hmm L: <u>i don't know very well</u> , but asian people (.) er you know korean and japanese	T24 – line 322
Lend	if you got the student card- the king's student <u>they can lend you</u>	T30 – line 38
Return	T: <1> nobody </1> they have - nobody wants them so you can you can take it you can borrow it and keep it at home for the whole year ?: ah yeah T: <2> if you want (.) </2> M: <2> the whole year </2> and (.) and you don't need to <u>return</u>	T30 – lines 72-76
Use	well yeah actually <u>we do use</u> but <u>we use</u> a little bit like er 'right'? <u>we don't use</u>	T34 – line 157

This feature seems to be a relatively productive one, appearing as it does in a large number of different settings, and spoken by participants from a large number of L1 backgrounds. In addition, there do not seem to be any restrictions regarding the nature of the verb with which the omission can occur. The phenomenon arises in the data irrespective of the manner of the transitive verb being used, and seems as likely to be produced with one transitive verb as with any other.

Initially I thought that subjecting the data to a functional/systemic analysis might reveal a trend in terms of the nature of the process represented by the verb. Thus far no particular pattern has emerged, and the option of implying an object or complement rather than explicitly stating it is exploited fairly extensively. Close scrutiny in fact has so far revealed only that the range of transitive verbs with which the feature can occur is potentially limitless. This can be illustrated by the range of samples given above, with verbs expressing mental processes, as with 'know' and 'want', material processes, as with 'return', 'lend', 'use', and so on, as well as among others relational processes, for example 'communicate with'. There is also a degree of freedom with regard to the syntactic patterns in which the feature occurs: in the 4.4 examples one of the verbs, 'know', can be used both intransitively and transitively; others are what might be described as more straightforward examples of transitive verbs, such as 'use' which in standard L1 Englishes always requires an object; while still others such as 'lend' and 'return' can be described as ditransitive in that two objects are often needed. This latter form would be the case in *they can lend you the book*, where the verb combines with two objects, which is expressed in the data as 'they can lend you' with the direct object 'book' being omitted and the indirect object 'you' retained.

It may of course be the case, as with a number of other features which initially appear to be in a state of free variation, that larger data samples and further analysis will reveal some such patterns. Indeed, while there are no particularly strong patterns evident in the data, there are in some instances a limited number of candidates that warrant special mention. In the case of the omission of complement or object with transitive functioning verbs, 'think' occurs relatively often in contrast to other verbs in the data, but this seems to be true only in some sections of the corpus (the examples given in figure 4.3 occur in a relatively small sample of interactions when compared to those given above in 4.2, which occur in wider range of speech events).

Figure 4.3: Complement ellipsis with *think*

Item	Example	Source
Think	N: erm <u>i think</u> (,) but that's not the most activity that i'd like to do	T5 – part 2, line 12 (L1 French)
	Y: hm (.) <u>yes i think</u> .	T10 – part 2, line 17 (L1 Korean)
	N: <u>yes i think</u> ...	T11 – lines 35& 41 (L1 French)
	N: yes it's useful but erm (...) <u>why do you think?</u>	
	K: <u>yeah i think</u> (,) but some people don't think about that	T18 – line 53 (L1 Korean)
	F: ah (,) <u>you do think</u>	T24 – line 464 (L1 Japanese)

In each of these the verb is used independently, and stands alone without the need for a subsequent component. The feature seems to manifest itself in a number of ways: it can occur in reference to a proposition previously stated by the speaker, as is the case in the first example; it can also occur where the speaker expresses agreement and confirms a proposition made by an interlocutor, as with the second example; and finally can be used to ask for clarification or to add comment to an interlocutor's utterance, as is the case with the last two examples cited above. The example in T10 appears particularly typical of this feature – here the speaker confirms a supposition her interlocutor had previously made in relation to the kind of activity she enjoyed doing, but in doing so reference to the complement is implied rather than stated. In each of the examples the deleted component is similar and would likely be equivalent to *so* or *that* as in the expressions *I think so*, and *I think that*, or *I think that way*.

Further data collection and analysis would be required to determine whether or not features of this kind are indeed occurring randomly or whether there is in fact an observable pattern emerging. It may be the case for example that the nature of the verb class has relevant impact on the likelihood of any grammatical shift taking place. Subsequent data gathering and analysis would do well to aim at verifying to what extent these patterns might be reliable. To this end, distinguishing between stative and dynamic verbs may be of relevance, with one or other of these categories perhaps being more disposed to innovations of this kind than another. At this stage it seems that there is some evidence to support this. Given for example the widespread occurrence of transitive 'think' used without complement, we might expect verbs expressing similar sense relations, perhaps 'believe' for example, to

undergo a similar innovation, suggesting a semantic reason behind this kind of grammatical shift. It is also entirely possible that there is an L1 related reason for relative frequency of 'think', and that the feature is common in some ELF versions but not others. In both Japanese and French for example, indeed as with other romance languages, the equivalent verb occurs independently without requiring a following complement. It is worth noting also that the L1 Korean speaker in T10 and T17 respectively are two different participants. With therefore two different Korean speakers producing the same feature this suggests the feature might prove to be characteristic of Korean ELF users. To determine region specific features of ELF varieties will require large scale studies and extensive analysis within particular settings, and although I do comment below on what seem to be a number of emerging trends in this respect (see for example the relationship between speaker L1 and article use), detailed descriptions of L1 specific features are unfortunately mostly beyond the scope of this thesis. The primary objective here will continue to be to outline trends common to a wide number of settings, the core features of ELF varieties, though it is possible and of some interest to speculate about likely patterns of use in particular settings, especially where this may shed further light on explaining the underlying motives for a feature's development.

It may though simply be the case that some verbs have a greater degree of freedom and, for whatever reason, are more predisposed to change in this way. This matter is taken up further in chapter 5 which includes a more extensive interpretation of the findings and a discussion of the possible causes of the ongoing trend for complement deletion.

4.2.3 *Prepositions*

Prepositions represent an area of the lexicogrammatical system which is relatively open to variation and change, especially where the preposition has no semantic value, as is often the situation with prepositions that are dependent on a preceding lexical item. This variation soon becomes apparent if we consider only a few examples of dependent prepositions in standard ENL varieties. The adjective *different* seems a very good case in point, since it can be followed by *from*, *to* and *than* to varying degrees in British and American English. The Collins English Dictionary (CED) observes that all three forms are found commonly among English writers, commenting though that there are differences in distribution and perceptions of correctness in British and American contexts, adding that *from* is probably more advisable since the British English *different to* and American English *different than* are both sometimes

regarded as incorrect by some speakers. Spoken data available in the British National Corpus (BNC) provides clear evidence of the variation, with an equal preference among speakers for *from* and *to*. In the demographic component of BNCP, *different* occurs 337 times, and a concordance study of the adjective reveals that in 17 cases the word combines with a dependent preposition, 8 times with *from* and 9 with *to*, and no occurrences of *different than*. The *to* and *from* options seem very much to be in free variation with no particular pattern or favouring of one form over the other emerging. This is particularly indicative of the nature of dependent prepositions, where the absence of propositional meaning renders them predisposed to this type of variation and change.

There are a number of ways in which this tendency towards variation and change manifests itself in the current data. Firstly, there are several cases where the dependent prepositions that follow certain verbs and nouns in L1 English are altogether omitted in ELF. This phenomenon seems to be most notable with verb + preposition combinations, especially those which form strong word partnerships in L1 English corpora, such as in the examples listed below in figure 4.4.

Figure 4.4: Omission of prepositions

Look (at)	...will never be <u>looked</u> in the streets	T22 line 90
	...if i <u>look</u> this picture er at the moment i'm thinking spiderman (xxx) movies (,) you know	T10 Line 48
	... no look (,) look (,) look that oh my god	T8 line 63
Listen (to)	i enjoy chatting with friends <u>listening</u> music reading book	T8 Line 7
	i like sleeping (,) so if possible i sleep in my free time (,) but er: nowadays i listen to the radio in my free time to practise <u>listening english</u>	T2 Lines 126
	er: i like to go to cinema? (,) er (,) theatre (,) <u>listen music</u> (,) er: i like to to play FOOTBALL (,) tennis	T3 Line 17
	er: i like having a bath and er usually i like er: i like <u>listening music</u>	T4 Line 37
	er: but i used to play piano so i like <u>listening classic music</u> (,) i can relax	Line 56
	er we we usually <u>listen</u> and contact with japanese or koreans	T34 Line 22

These two verbs collocate very strongly with the prepositions *at* and *to* respectively, and the collocation of either verb directly with an object would be considered incorrect usage. In the ELF data they occur on numerous occasions, in a wide range of contexts, with no evidence of there being in any of these situations a breakdown in communication. In the first example, *will never be looked in the streets* there is perhaps a slight difference, since the use here of the passive voice and the occurrence of the preposition *in* makes the syntax of the utterance more complex. It is possible here that *at* is being omitted because this would result in a double preposition, and because it may be deemed unnecessary since in passive voice the object has become the agent and occurs prior to the verb and preposition. If this is the case, and there emerges a tendency for prepositions in utterance final position to be omitted this feature is very similar to the omission of objects and complements after transitive verbs (see the discussion on this above and figure 4.2 for examples) where the referent has already been stated, or is clearly implied in the context and thus its use or repetition would be largely redundant. This is certainly true with the use of a preposition in a passive construction since it is not followed by the object, and thus remains stranded as in *the matter needs to be looked at further*, or *this music should be listened to*. Preposition stranding is a marked feature of English, and has received much comment in SLA studies with regard to Universal Grammar and the notion of principles and parameters (see e.g. Ellis 1994), where it is often quoted as an example of a marked form, since not all languages that use prepositions permit extraction of the preposition.

This explanation represents a very interesting possibility, although there are in any case a good number of other similar examples where the omitted preposition occurs neither with passive voice nor prior to another preposition. At this stage it seems very likely, regardless of the cause, that there is a good deal of shift from L1 patterns taking place, and that the examples quoted here are part of widespread, long term processes. These omissions take place in a far wider variety of contexts than those that would be supported by a Universal Grammar explanation. There is plenty of evidence in the current data to suggest that prepositions constitute an area where language change will be very productive in ELF settings. It is also worth noting that there is inconsistency in a number of the above examples, where for instance *listen to* and *listen* both occur in the same utterance. This can be seen as evidence that this item is unstable either in this speaker's language use or perhaps more probably, that it is unstable more generally and therefore currently in a period of

transition. Further investigation with a larger corpus may reveal that there are patterns of use emerging, which could for example include cases where the use or non-use of *to* will depend on the nature of the referent that follows the preposition. The issue of underlying cause for this change will be addressed in more detail in the following chapter, but it is worth noting here that there is a further possible typological reason why these two verbs in particular may be moving towards a preference for non-use of the dependent preposition. That is, compared to many other languages which make use of prepositions, English seems quite marked with regard to the use of a dependent preposition with the verbs *listen* and *look*. In Latin derived languages for example, these high frequency items occur without a preposition before the object or complement. We can contrast the above incidents of *listen music* with the Italian equivalent, *ascoltare la musica*, or the Spanish *escuchar música*, both of which use no preposition between verb and object. Similarly the French *écouter* and Portuguese, *escutar* are followed directly by the object with no intermediary preposition.

In addition, there are cases of omission occurring in the data where the equivalent verb in L1 is also followed by a preposition. The verb *depend* is a good example of this.

Figure 4.5: Preposition use and *depend*

Depend (on)	. i will study in university in england and er then i may looking for a job (.) it depends the job which country i i will (.) will stay in er: it's ok (.) <u>depends the place</u> of course (,) but er	T3 Line 38 L1 Japanese Line 57 L1 Portuguese
Depend + of	i i think it <u>depends of</u> the issue that you are talking about	T8 Line 30 L1 Portuguese
It's depend on	aah @@@ <u>it's depend on</u> the situation	T10 Line 35 L1 Italian

The first two examples occur in the same conversation, but are uttered by two different speakers, L1 Japanese and L1 Portuguese respectively. In both cases *depend* is used without a dependent preposition, being followed instead directly by the object it refers to. Japanese is a language that makes use of postposition particles rather than prepositions, as can be illustrated for example in the simple phrase, *eigo no sensei desu*, which literally translates as

'English of teacher am'. It can therefore be expected that speakers of SOV languages such as Japanese might well produce examples where dependent prepositions are omitted. In languages that do make use of prepositions, however, this is not an adequate explanation since the equivalent for the verb *depend* tends to be followed by a preposition, one which most often translates as *of* in English, as is the case in Spanish where the translation of the first two examples given above would be *depende del trabajo* and *depende del lugar*. This can of course account for the occurrence elsewhere in the data of the form *depends of* as evidenced in the third of the above examples. In addition to this though there are cases where the verb behaves more as an adjective, as in the final case above where the form follows the verb *be* in the phrase *it's depend on*. It is difficult therefore to provide explanation for the variations in this form solely by making these cross-linguistic comparisons. While comparing features across languages can shed light on some of the examples, the variation is far more extensive than can be accounted for in this way. There clearly seems to be a fairly wide range of options available with the verb *depend*, with as yet no definite pattern of use emerging. This is indicative of the extent to which dependent prepositions can exhibit flexibility in use, and how in many cases they are in fact very liable to variation and change.

There are other cases of variation with preposition use where there does seem to be the emergence of a pattern. Often this appears to be taking place as the result of the extension of an already existing pattern. The following example can serve to illustrate one way in which this process operates.

A: yeah (,) i think that the main (,) the main main er: T22
 er question is not how the couple live (xxx) how it can Line 145
 influence on on the child life you know

This turn occurs in a discussion about an issue regarding the adoption of children by gay couples that had recently been reported quite widely in the press. The speaker here uses the verb, *influence* in combination with the preposition *on*, a pattern not found in L1 varieties of English, where the preferred pattern for the above example would be *influence the child* with no preposition coming between the verb and object. The L1 form however is in direct contrast to the customary pattern that occurs with *influence* as a noun, which does in fact collocate with *on* as in *to have an influence on people or situations* (Collins COBUILD). Therefore, we can interpret the example quoted above as a case where the usual noun-object pattern in

L1 Englishes has been extended in ELF use to include another word class, where the verb-object pattern makes use of the same dependent preposition, with verb and object linked together with *on*, producing ...*it can influence on*. In addition to the pattern *influence* (noun) + *on*, in standard L1 varieties *on* is the dependent preposition that combines with other words that can be used to express similar meanings, for example *effect* and *impact* (as verb and noun). This suggests further that the production of *influence* (verb) + *on* occurs in ELF as the result of an extension of an existing pattern. This process takes place quite extensively in the data, as can be seen in the examples given in the following table.

Figure 4.6: Innovative preposition use in ELF

Item	Example	Source
Consequence on	...first i would like to, to study, to know the psychological (...) <u>consequences on</u> the child	T22
Implication on	... i believe that the findings of this essay may HAVE <u>implications on</u> syllabus design and language testing	T37
Contact with	...we we usually listen and <u>contact with</u> japanese or koreans	T34
Involve with	...direct advice usually <u>involves with</u> the use of 'should' (,) erm (,) hedged advice it's: when we avoid giving direct advice	T37
Related with	...they associate different languages they speak with the notion of culture <u>related with</u> those languages?	T38
Attitude with	... so i just er quest- er question whether er (,) er er their <u>attitude with</u> this kind of ISSue so er mmm	T36
Confidence with	... for ME probably (,) the point (,) i got <u>confidence with using</u> these words or these idioms (,) i probably i will stop learning	T29
Bear with	...yeah it does yeah but (,) i i'm not - i can't <u>bear with</u> change - changing rule - basic rule because (1) why? why we need to change	T29

The above examples represent a fairly broad sample of the many cases in the data where use of prepositions is innovative. It seems that in each of these though there is a sense of systematicity at play, that there is a generalization of a particular pattern or tendency occurring each time. As we have seen with the use of *influence* (verb) + *on* in some of the examples the generalization operates as an extension of a noun-preposition-object pattern to the equivalent verb form. We can compare for instance the third case given above, *we usually listen and contact with japanese or koreans* with uses of *contact* (noun) + *with* found elsewhere in the data, for example in the following:

- L: erm but (,) it should be also very difficult T6, Lines 73-75
- T: yeah it's very difficult
- L: and you are always in contact with er pain and (,)

They have got er friends from: i mean white T38, Line 21
and black monolinguals have contact with them
as well

In both of these cases the pattern is the same as that found in standard L1 Englishes, where the noun *contact* combines with the preposition *with*, as is commonly found in phrases such as *have contact with* or *be in contact with*. Again, what has happened in the example quoted in figure 4.6 is that the existing noun-preposition-object structure has been extended and the preposition reassigned to combine with the verb form. In the examples looked at so far, a preposition is used where in L1 Englishes no preposition is found. This is also the case with the last of the features given in 4.8, where the verb *bear* combines here with the preposition *with*, while the more usual convention in established varieties is for this verb to be followed directly by its object or complement with no preposition.

In other cases the syntactical pattern of L1 Englishes does make use of a preposition, and what has occurred in the ELF data is a shift away from the existing pattern to provide innovation through the use of a different dependent preposition. In the first two cases in 4.8 for example, the use of *on* here represents a shift away from the L1 English preposition *for*, where the preferred L1 form tends to be *consequences for* and *implications for*. This is attested by data available in the academic component of the BNC⁶, where neither *consequences on* or *implications on* occurs even once, and where out of a total of 137 incidents of *consequences* there are 52 cases of *consequences of* as in ‘the commercial consequences of fluctuating services’ (BNCB-ACA, concordance no. 106) and 15 cases of *consequences for*, as in for example ‘it asks what are the consequences for teachers’ (BNCB-ACA, concordance no. 26). Similarly, out of

⁶For most comparisons the demographic component of the BNC has been used as this represents a corpus of spoken discourse, and is therefore more appropriate as a like for like comparison. For some features however, as is the case here when comparing use of the dependent preposition with the noun ‘consequences’, a search of the demographic component revealed very little. Most likely due to its relative formality there are only two occurrences of this word in the demographic component, neither of which are followed by an object or preposition. I therefore opted to consult the academic component (BNCB-ACA) to draw on comparative data, even though this is a written corpus. In the absence of comparable spoken data I believe this is a valid option, especially given that in the case of preposition use there seems generally to be little difference between preferred options in spoken and written discourse.

a total 88 cases for *implications*, there are 32 occurrences of *implications of* and 24 of *implications for*. In the BNC data the patterns of these two nouns are clearly very similar, where *for* seems to be the strong preference when referring to the recipient of the consequences or implications, and where *of* serves to indicate the nature or origin of these, such as would be the case in, 'the major implications of underfunding for the health service'. In the ELF examples *on* in each case is used to refer to the recipient, and is similar in nature to the use of *influence on* discussed earlier. There is then a pattern in the BNC data, in that there is a consistent difference between the uses of *for* and *of*, and a pattern, though a different one in the ELF data, where *on* has replaced *for* as the preposition used to connect the noun with its recipient.

There is in fact some patterning in the use of dependent prepositions generally in standard Englishes. It is for example often the case that lexical items with closely related semantic properties will tend to collocate with the same preposition. This is the case for instance with a good number of adjective-preposition combinations, such as for example with adjectives used to express the emotion of fear. These include *afraid*, *frightened*, *scared*, as well as the extreme adjectives, *terrified* and *petrified*, where the preposition in each case is the same, with all items combining with *of*. This can be extended further to also include longer phrases and fixed expressions which convey the same sense, as with, *have a fear of*, *have a phobia of*. Similarly, expression of the semantic property represented by the word 'anxiety' customarily involves consistent use of a preposition, this time *about*, as in *anxious about*, *nervous about*, *worried about*, or as is the case with the verb phrases *worry about* or *fret about*. So while in the ELF examples looked at so far there is an extension or generalization of an already existing pattern grammatically, that is the assigning of a preposition across word classes, it is also the case with some of the features recorded that there is an extension taking place semantically. There are a number of such cases in my data where there seems to be an underlying semantic reason for the innovation, a representative sample of which occur above in figure 4.6. This certainly appears to be the situation with the fourth example, *direct advice usually involves with the use of 'should'*. Here it seems likely that *with* is chosen for its semantic properties, which include 'accompanying', 'togetherness' and 'concerning/regarding' (CED) since these meanings are closely related to (or perhaps better in ELF, 'related with') the sense conveyed by *involves*.

The use of the preposition *about* in the current data provides a particularly good illustration of the role of semantics in dependent preposition selection. The following table lists a range of noun-preposition and verb-preposition combinations

Figure 4.7: Uses of *about* in ELF

Item	Example	Source
Discuss about	...hm governor of tokyo er is er started discussed - started <u>discussing about</u> this system hmm (,) maybe near future er we will have same ru	T26
	@@ mm ok so: what are we discussing? hh well we're just <u>discussing about</u> japanese soup @ miso soup yeah miso soup ok	T32
Study about	... i <u>study about</u> computer in korea	T1
	(...) and also the curriculum- curricuLUM <u>studying about</u> er the syllabus and also the text book	T35
	I intend to do some background <u>study about</u> the first generation of these immigrants	T38
Understand about	are er standard english or to what extent they (,) know about they <u>understand about</u> EIL inter- english as an international language	T34
Criticise about	... but er they never (,) they never <u>criticize about</u> this hm hm hmm erm very strange er in my opinion	T24
Opinion about	so andre (,) we might have different opinion about the - the issue which is (,) which (,) er parents should be held responsible for their children's behaviour	T18
	or: very ordinary do you have any (..) (ordinary) (,) opinion about this?	T24
Solution about	I mean er now...now sorry we have the solution about this pollution yes many... many car don't use unle... unleaded	T2
Concerning about	...it voted something concerning about the the adoptions	T22 Line 140

The use of *about* in these examples exhibits interesting properties in two principal ways. Firstly, there is a grammatically motivated extension to an existing pattern, where for example one way to interpret the occurrence of *discuss about* is as an extension of the noun-preposition combination, as would be the case with the L1 English *discussion about* to the verb class. There is secondly however, and perhaps more importantly a semantic reason for the extensive proliferation of *about*. Verbs that have a similar semantic value collocate strongly

with *about*, as can be attested in the following concordance sample of my data, where *talk*, *talked*, *talking* are among the most frequent items that combine with this preposition.

Concordance

203 @@ mm yeah need to talk we can talk about our essay our essay? yeah you
204 neutral @ neutral (,) need to talk about something neutral something
205 i came here just they yeah they talk about (,) marriage because you know the
206 so we really need to talk about the class @ @@@ @ @ about
207 a question and let them all: yeah talk about the i mean you can do something
208 so when i met my friend and er talk about the kind of er boyfriend and that
209 yeah ok, thank you hmm, we often talk about this yeah yeah, so you choose
210 hm today i'm going to d- talk about my dissertation and my topic is
211 can - ANYthing well well you can talk about (,) I don't know I was asking about
212 @@@ I don't want, I don't want to talk about this one it's very difficult hmm but
213 easy that you are used to talk about - that you are used to talking
214 yeah erm actually I'm - I intend to talk about gay or lesbian couple yeah or
215 because the government never talk about this thing hmm ah we have to
216 so let's talk about this topic yeah yeah ok, I can tell
217 just discuss the theories you can talk about: yeah yeah: but i mean the: we
218 to what? yeah to to to what we talked about in SLA mm no i don't think so: i
219 know @@@ so what shall we talked about? about your:? yeah i brought you
220 hmm and erm (,) we we were talking about errors earlier hm hm and I pick up
221 talk about - that you are used to talking about then no problem ... and what about
222 and thing mhm mm so we are talking about the books (,) how we can get the
223 understand their - what they are talking about and I couldn't you know when I
224 a focus group l- y- y- who was talking about the focus group? was that you? ah
225 parents about (,) because i was talking about my mum called me recently and
226 my pron - about pron - talking about pronunciation yes pronunciation?
227 of the issue that you are talking about er... if it's something easy that you
228 ok ok, so... firstly we are talking about... the first the country? yeah ?
229 hmm yeah so sometimes she talks about her jobs yes so it's quite...

The data also include high frequency collocations and clusters with other verbs and phrases that express a similar meaning, including for example *say*, *speak*, *tell* and many other items semantically related to the idea of communication, such as *agree*, *disagree*, *conversation*, *comments*, and in terms of reception as well as production, as in *hear* and *read*, all of which appear together with *about* in the ELF data and in the demographic component of BNCEB. There are also fairly close sense relations between the novel collocations *study about*, *understand about* and

the more established combinations *learn about* and *know about*, which feature widely in the current data and L1 English corpora. In view of the fact that these verbs share semantic properties, it is perhaps something of an anomaly then that in standard and more established varieties they do not all exhibit the same structural properties. It is thus an irregularity that *learn*, *read*, *know*, all collocate with *about* but *study* and *understand* do not. These innovations in the use of *about* appear also therefore to be the result of a process of extending current patterns. In the case of *criticize about* there is a close relationship semantically between this and other words that express similar propositions, including for example *complain about* (also a collocation in the current data and in BNCB). In addition to this, and strengthening further the idea that this represents a pattern extension, the noun *criticism* and adjective *critical* also collocate frequently with the preposition *about*.

In the remaining examples quoted in figure 4.7 *about* appears to have been assigned a semantic value, something akin to 'topic' or 'theme', a value displayed in many of the more established collocations and clusters for this preposition. The following samples provide useful evidence of this. They are a brief but quite typical selection of the total 302 hits from a concordance of *about* conducted on the current data.

I saw, I saw hm, the video? some doc - documentary about abortion
 there were a lot of very... touching tv programme about Japan but now you couldn't
 I have read - read some report... about this opinion
 has not changed my ideas - my views about all this situation but has just reinforced them
 I like the... to... to take some workshop about er spirit - spiritualism - spirit things

It is clear in each of these examples that *about* serves to indicate the topic of the item immediately to the left, that is to say what a programme, report and so on is concerning. In the case of the items given in 4.7 this semantic value has been assigned more extensively than tends to be the case in L1 Englishes, with for example the pronoun combining with *solution* and *opinion*. The latter case, *opinion about*, certainly seems to be the preferred option in the current data. There is not a single example in all of the interactions where the word *opinion* combines with *of*, the favoured form in standard English according to Collins COBUILD. This L1 English preference is also backed up by data from the BNC, where *of* is the only preposition with which *opinion* co-occurs in the demographic component of BNCB, and where there are no cases of *opinion about*.

As further indication of the extent to which the semantic value of *about* appears to be assigned more widely in ELF, the exponent *concerning about* occurs in the final example given in 4.7. Here the preposition combines with, and arguably reinforces, another word used to identify the topic being referred to. This is a very interesting case, and while not by any means typical (it occurs only once in the data) it is very telling. This is because it demonstrates effectively the potential of *about* to be employed in this way, and seems to be particularly indicative of the predisposition of some prepositions to develop in certain ways. Thus the number of linguistic contexts in which *about* displays this semantic value appears to be wider in scope in the ELF data than in L1 corpora. The examples all represent a process of pattern generalization and extension. This process tends to be described in ELT however as ‘overgeneralization’ (see for example James 1998) and is customarily seen in a very negative light, as a frequently proposed reason for commonly occurring ‘errors’, and therefore something to be avoided by learners and eradicated by teachers, usually at all costs. This is an essential point, one which the discussion of pedagogy in chapter 8 below will take up in much more detail, especially with regard to current practice in language assessment and error correction in ELT.

4.2.4 Articles

There are some notable differences in the manner in which articles are used in the current data when compared to corpus data from L1 Englishes. There is a very strong indication that in ELF communication the indefinite and definite articles both represent resources that are employed in innovative ways. Initially during the data collection phase it seemed to be the case that definite and indefinite articles were frequently absent in contexts where they would be used in ENL varieties, as in *first time I went to London* (T1, line 6) and *I’m university student* (T1, line 28). Yet this is not as straightforward as it at first appears, and analysis of the ELF corpus as a whole reveals that indefinite and definite articles tend to be no less significant in lingua franca spoken discourse than they are in L1 Englishes.

A comparison of the statistics of definite and indefinite articles in the ELF corpus and an ENL spoken corpus reveals that the frequency of these items is in fact very similar across both corpora. For this purpose word lists were produced for the current data and comparable ENL data using Oxford WordSmith – these lists were then organised according to frequency and the statistics were compared. In the demographic component of BNCB for

example, a spoken corpus of some 900,000+ words, the indefinite article ranks sixth in the frequency list, with 19,503 tokens for *a* and 1,290 for *an*.⁷ The combined scores for *a* and *an* in the ELF word list give a ranking of the eighth most frequent item out of a total of 3,079 word types. The definite article has similarly close frequency rankings in the two sets of data. In the BNC demographic component and in the ELF data *the* is the third most frequent item in both corpora. The difference then seems not to lie in the overall importance of articles in ENL and ELF respectively but in the nature of their distribution. It is not the case that the indefinite or definite article is used less in ELF, but that the article system is being employed differently.

There also seems to be some degree of inter-speaker variation with regard to the use of articles in ELF, whereas this seems not to be the case in ENL. It is for example notable that definite and indefinite articles have an even distribution in the BNC data, with each form appearing in 100% of the 30 texts that make up the demographic component of the corpus. In the ELF corpus however there are a number of source texts out of the total of 38 where the definite article or indefinite article occur far lower down on the frequency list than is typical, and one source text where the definite article does not appear at all. I will look closely at a number of the interactions where articles occur relatively infrequently with the aim of highlighting some of the more characteristic features of article use in particular ELF settings. These are not always characteristic of ELF more generally but are often very telling in terms of the extent to which they can shed light on ways in which the lexicogrammatical subsystems of English are subject to change in lingua franca communication. This seems to be particularly true of the article system, which displays more variation across different speakers than the other features so far described in this chapter.

In T7 for example, a conversation between an L1 Korean speaker and L1 Japanese speaker, *the* occurs a total of only seven times and is ranked 29th in the frequency list, significantly below the ranking for the corpus as a whole. Even more remarkable, the indefinite article *a* appears only once in the entire interaction. It occurs early on in the conversation in the phrase *a little bit panic* (T7, line 15), and is quite untypical in the speech patterns of the two speakers in this conversation. There are numerous examples where the

⁷ The two allomorphs *a* and *an* occur as separate items in the frequency list produced by WordSmith, with *an* appearing far lower down in the ranking for its far lower frequency score. Combining the two totals however is straightforward, producing a complete score of 20,793, which does not affect the overall position of *a* in the frequency list.

zero article occurs together with a singular count noun, which in ENL would be preceded by the indefinite article. This is in evidence throughout the conversation as can be seen in the following exchange.

- S: what is (,) what is your future plan? T7
 K: ah (,) actually i want to be: translator or interpreter Lines 1-6
 in the future if possible
 S: yes (,) yeah @@@
 K: @@@ ah: how about you?
 S: ah i want to be computer programmer ah and also
 i want to use english with another people

The speakers here are discussing their plans for when they complete their university degrees. In reference to the careers they hope to achieve, both speakers use zero article in place of indefinite article. Thus we have *translator* and *computer programmer* instead of *a translator*, *a computer programmer*. The case of *interpreter* is slightly different because as this follows the previous noun *translator* it is very likely that in ENL varieties *an* would also be absent. However, in ENL rather than this occurring as the use of zero article, it would happen as the result of ellipsis. This feature recurs throughout the conversation, and seems to be characteristic of both speakers, as can be attested in the following.

- S: at first i need er my major subject- it have er: T7
 english have ma- major subject (,) and then after that er: in Lines 21 – 26
 korea english very important because if i if i will be
 computer programmer i (,) er maybe i talk with foreigner
 another country so i need english for my job
 K: hmm (,) ah: as i said before
 actually i want to be translator or <2> interpreter </2> in
 the future so:
 S: <2> yeah </2>

In the second extract there are two slightly distinct uses here of the zero article. As above in extract 1 the zero option occurs where the speakers are referring to their future career plans, as in *if I will be computer programmer* and *I want to be translator*, where the singular count nouns are used for specific reference. In addition to these two examples though is the occurrence of *I talk with foreigner*, where the singular count noun is used for general reference. In the former two cases the ENL equivalent structure would contain the indefinite article *a*, while in the latter case there are two possibilities. Either the plural form *foreigners* or the singular

form with indefinite article *a foreigner* can be used in ENL varieties, where *foreigners* would more likely be the preferred form in most situations.

This phenomenon is by no means exclusive to this particular interaction – there are in fact many settings where zero article is used in similar linguistic environments, occurring relatively frequently with singular count nouns. The examples given in the above extracts, however, represent a particularly good demonstration of the changes that appear to be emerging in the article system as realised in ELF communication. The conversation is especially noteworthy as it is almost entirely devoid of definite and indefinite articles. This may provide quite strong evidence that speakers in ELF settings will often accommodate towards shared NNS norms of behaviour, as the speakers are L1 Korean and L1 Japanese respectively, that is, both participants are speakers of languages that do not have an article system. Bearing this in mind it seems especially significant that there is only a single case of indefinite article use in the entire dialogue, a conversation in which indefinite articles would feature quite frequently in an L1 English interaction based on similar topics. The importance of convergence and accommodation will be treated at length in chapter 5.

A further key difference in the article system as used in ELF seems to be emerging in the use of zero article where standard ENL varieties employ the definite article. The combination of definite article *the* with certain high frequency adjectives, adjectival and adverbial phrases, in L1 Englishes is a good case in point. This is clearly in evidence with the occurrence of *same* and *same as* in the current data, as shown below in figure 4.8.

Figure 4.8: Zero article use and *same*

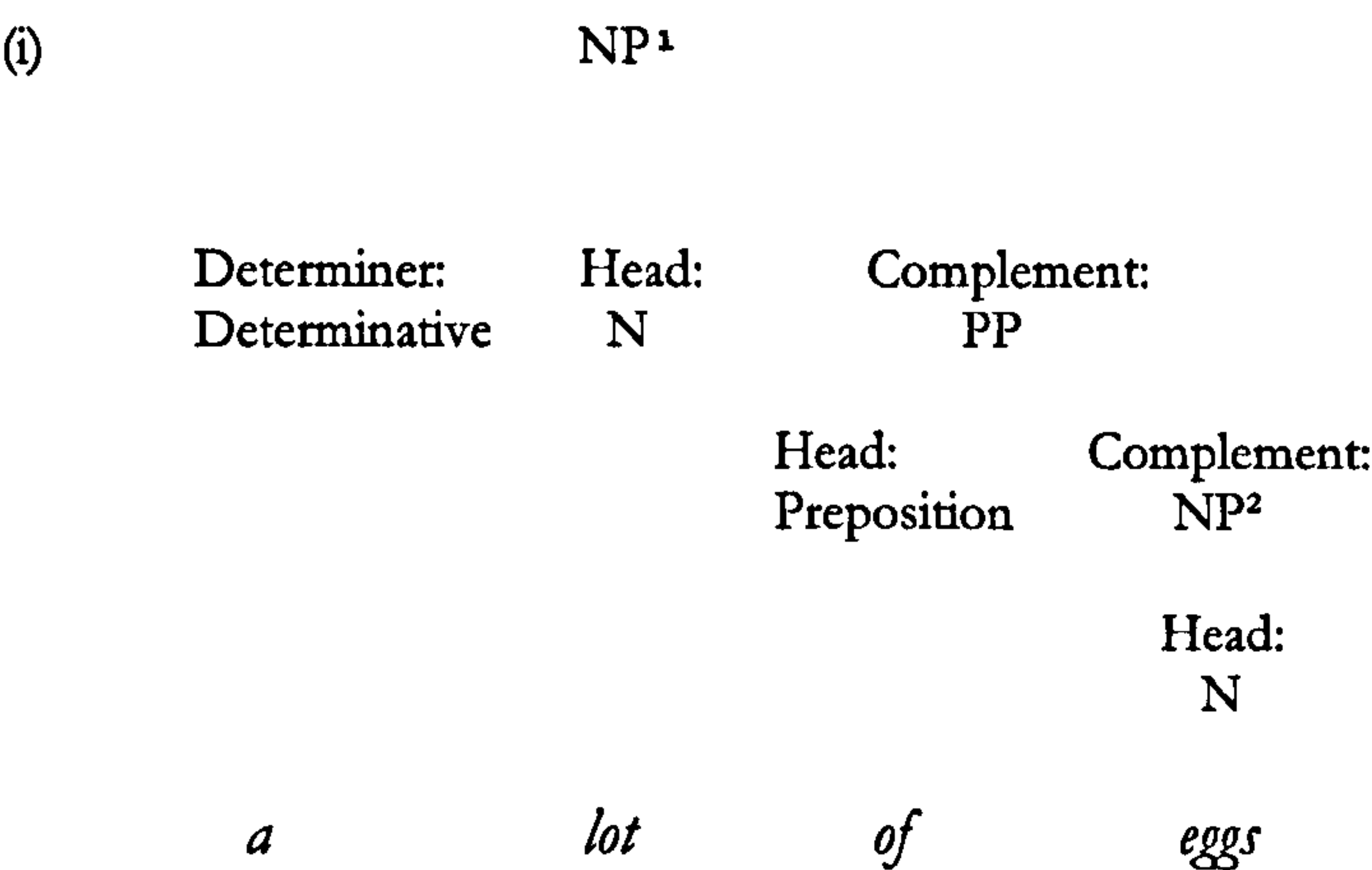
er: actually <u>same as you</u>	T1, Line 47
yes (,) <u>same as you</u> but er sometimes i er i like speaking english more than i speak Japanese	T5, Line 68
... @@@ actually <u>i'm same as you</u> (,) yeah until last week i felt my english has improved	T7, Line 16
...ah usually i go to the cinema with my friends or go to the coffee shop and chat with my friend (,) shopping cooking (,) <u>same as another girl</u> @@@	T7, Line 51
... i also (xxx) very much because <u>i have same problem</u> and hmm	T9, Line 41
... yes (,) korea <u>is same</u> (,) yeah (,) hm	T10, Line 28

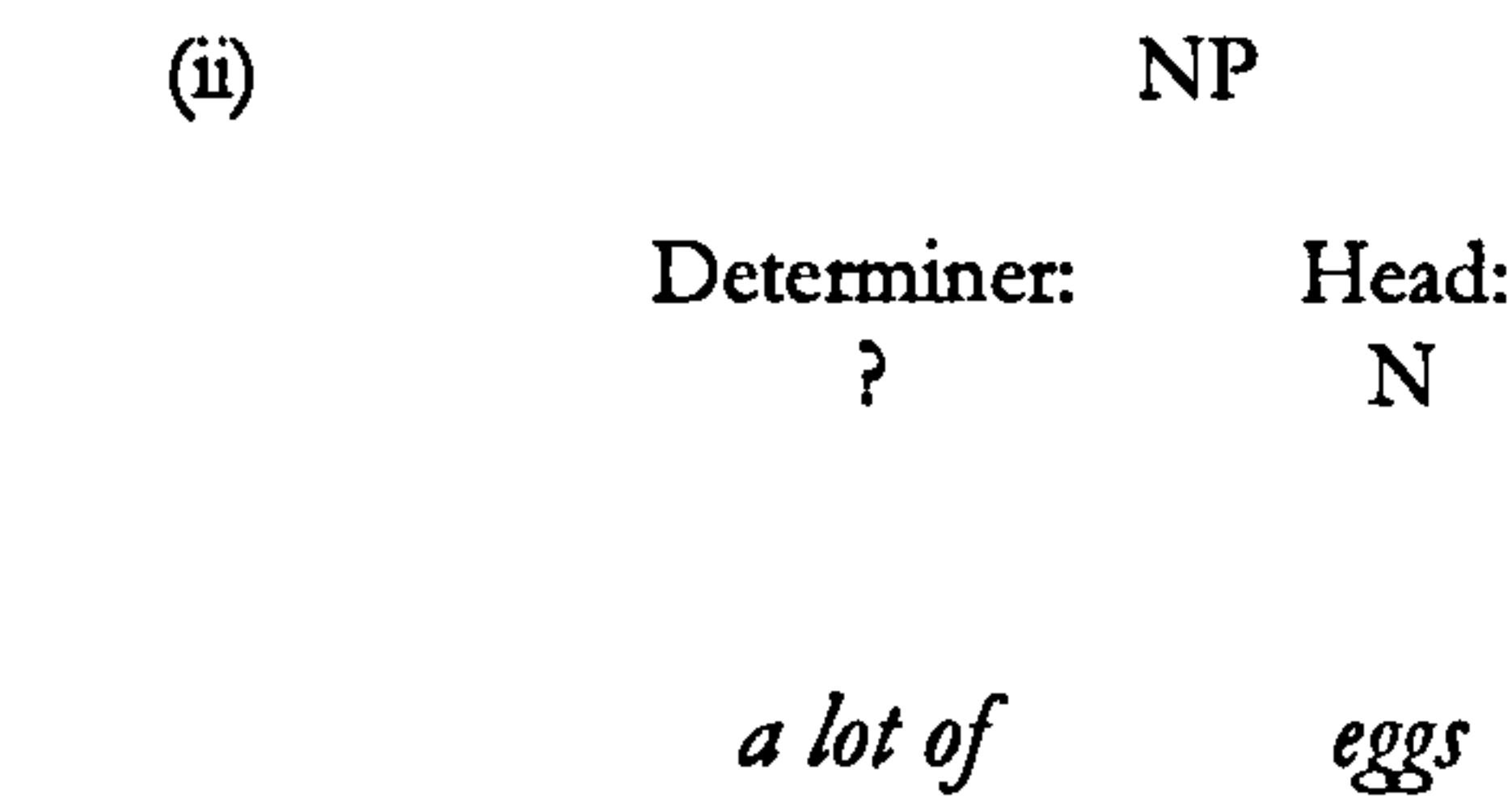
In each of these examples *same* and *same as* occur with the zero article as opposed to the definite article, which would be the customary form in standard ENL. In the current data there are 23 occasions out of a total 72 tokens for *same* where the word is used with zero article, both in cases where it appears as an adjective, as in *I have same problem*, and as part of a phrase, as found in the numerous occurrences of *same as you*. The range of contexts in which this form appears is extensive, being produced by a wide range of speakers in a range of different situations. While the use of the zero article in this context is not exclusive - there is also a significant number of incidents and in a similarly wide range of contexts of the definite article forms *the same* and *the same as* - it does represent a relatively established alternative option. It is also similar in an important way to a number of other cases in the data where the zero article is used in contexts where L1 Englishes would require use of the definite article. What seems particularly significant here is the fact this particular use of *the* in standard English varieties appears to be largely idiomatic and communicatively redundant.

The view expressed by Quirk *et al* (1985) is in stark contrast to this notion of redundancy however. In their *Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language* the use of the definite article with *same* is described in fact as 'logical' use of *the*. The term is used to describe cases where the uniqueness of a referent is not accounted for by world knowledge, as would be the case with the ENL use of the article in *the Earth*, *the Moon*, *the Sun*, but by what is described as 'the logical interpretation of certain words' (Quirk *et al* 1985: 270). This category of words consists of postdeterminers and adjectives where the meaning is intrinsically an expression of uniqueness, including for example ordinals such as *first*, *second*, *third*, superlative adjectives such as *best* and *worst*, sequence related words as in *next* and *last*, as well as other expressions of singularity, including *only*, *sole*, and of course *same*. The discussion of these types of modifiers even goes as far as to describe as 'absurd' the possibility of using them with the indefinite or zero articles. One concession given is that zero article may be used with this category of words in certain fixed expressions such as *best man* or *first prize*. It is possible that *same as* in ELF is currently in the process of developing as a fixed expression, which would account for some of the uses of zero article, including the first four cases in figure 4.8, but which would not account for its occurrence in the last two, where *same* is respectively a premodifying adjective and complement. If anything the use of *the* - a grammatical lexeme that primarily denotes specificity - together with a modifier whose meaning essentially serves this purpose already is *pace* Quirk *et al* 'illogical', as this involves a

degree of reduplication and redundancy. The treatment of *the* in Quirk *et al*, as well as other similar appeals to ‘logic’ that can be found in studies of English grammar, represents an important issue in light of the innovations found in the current data. This matter will be dealt with at length as part of the discussion of underlying causes in chapter 5.

There are other areas where the use of an article in ENL could be regarded as communicatively redundant. Huddleston (1984) considers cases where English employs a single determiner that contains a sequence of words rather than a single word. He gives as an example the analysis of *a few mistakes* (1984: 234) into two rather than three components, where *a few* functions as a single determiner for the head *mistakes*. This three-word sequence is analysed in this way as a single determiner and head since *a* is wholly dependent on *few* and cannot occur here independently. Huddleston goes on to assess other similar situations involving constituent determiners, a number of which contain either the indefinite or definite article as one of their component parts. These include phrases that contain cardinal numbers occurring as heads with their own determiner, such as *the first two examples*, and other constituent structures such as *a lot of* and *a number of*, both of which display a certain amount of indeterminacy when it comes to providing a structural analysis. For example in the sequence, *a lot of eggs* Huddleston points out that the analysis can take either *lot* as the head of the phrase or it could regard the head as *eggs*, which rendered diagrammatically would produce the following.





(Adapted from Huddleston 1984: 237)

In diagram (i) the head of the phrase is *lot*, and the resulting structure is the same as that which would be found in phrases such as *a history of...* or *an account of...* where *history* and *account* are undoubtedly analysed as heads. On the other hand, in diagram (ii) *eggs* is the head and *a lot of* becomes comparable to other NPs containing words like *several*. Most importantly however, Huddleston observes that in the case of *several eggs* the nature of the determiner is straightforward, whereas the situation with *a lot of* is more problematic since it is not so clear (hence the question mark) what the classification or internal structure of *a lot of* as a determiner would be. This also raises questions about the relative significance of *a* in the sequence *a lot of*: if for reasons of analysis the internal structure of the phrase is equivocal then it seems particularly apt that this expression is open to variation and change in ELF settings.

Cases in which determiners are composed of constituent parts, and where one element in the sequence is an article clearly represent a complex area of the grammar of English. It is also an area that suggests particularly revealing findings when comparisons are drawn between grammatical analysis presented in the long established ENL grammars and ELF corpus data. Although for instance the phrase *a lot of* occurs frequently in the data, with 82 tokens, *lot of* also appears in the data as a two-word cluster without the indefinite article, as evidenced in the following concordance sample.

Concordance

- 83 - lots of Japanese invaded China and lot of Japanese killed Chinese people,
 84 hm because er in Tokyo hm there are... lot of cars around, and, on the street
 85 other people so... and also there are lot of nationalities so I felt freedom hmm
 86 people go to... go to the park there are lot of conjurer or snake or @@@
 87 use ok (.) in your language there are lot of words but in your - on your - the tip
 88 to er...so hmm and er here there are lot of foreigner. *I can meet many
 89 hmm but I think erm in China there are lot of hmm... crime yeah er other -
 90 ~~generally I don't think there's an awful lot of point hm hm @@ hm my my tutor~~
 91 and as well as this you can... do lot of things, it's a very big city. you can
 92 er...also this is air pollution and this is lot of pollution how about this one? I have
 93 with human rights yeah, it depend on lot of different opinion hmm yes because
 94 do that... if there... but do you know -S lot of people think... - people who live like

In the above concordance line 90 has been deleted because it contains the indefinite article *an*. It occurs here amongst the other examples where there is no article because the concordance was sorted by placing the focus on the word immediately to the left (position L1) of the central word *lot*, which in this case is *awful*, with *an* occupying position L2, in other words two places to the left of the centre. It can be argued that if we take the view that *a lot of* is most appropriately analysable as a single determiner, where the internal structure is difficult to determine, then it follows that there is an element of redundancy in the indefinite article *a*. The discussion of redundancy will also be taken up in depth in chapter 5 as the phenomenon appears to underlie a good number of the emerging innovative features of lexicogrammar.

There are a number of other cases where zero article occurs in ELF but does not occur in ENL varieties. These predominantly are in fixed expressions, again especially where the semantics are opaque and there is a high degree of idiomaticity, as well as words that seem not to be easily classifiable in terms of the conventions for classifying nouns as count, noncount, concrete and abstract. This is the case with a word such as *environment*, which is countable but often used in singular form, and which entails a sense of abstractness but is also to some degree observable and measurable (characteristics that are usually absent in abstract nouns). In ENL varieties *the environment* is used to talk quite generally about our surroundings and the natural world. This is a particularly interesting case as this word

represents something of an irregularity in the article system, as it falls into a category of definite article use that Parrott (2000) refers to as having little or no bearing on other patterns of article behaviour. Its occurrence in ENL is then something of an oddity in the system. Conversely however, in ELF the word often appears with the zero article, as can be seen in the following concordance sample.

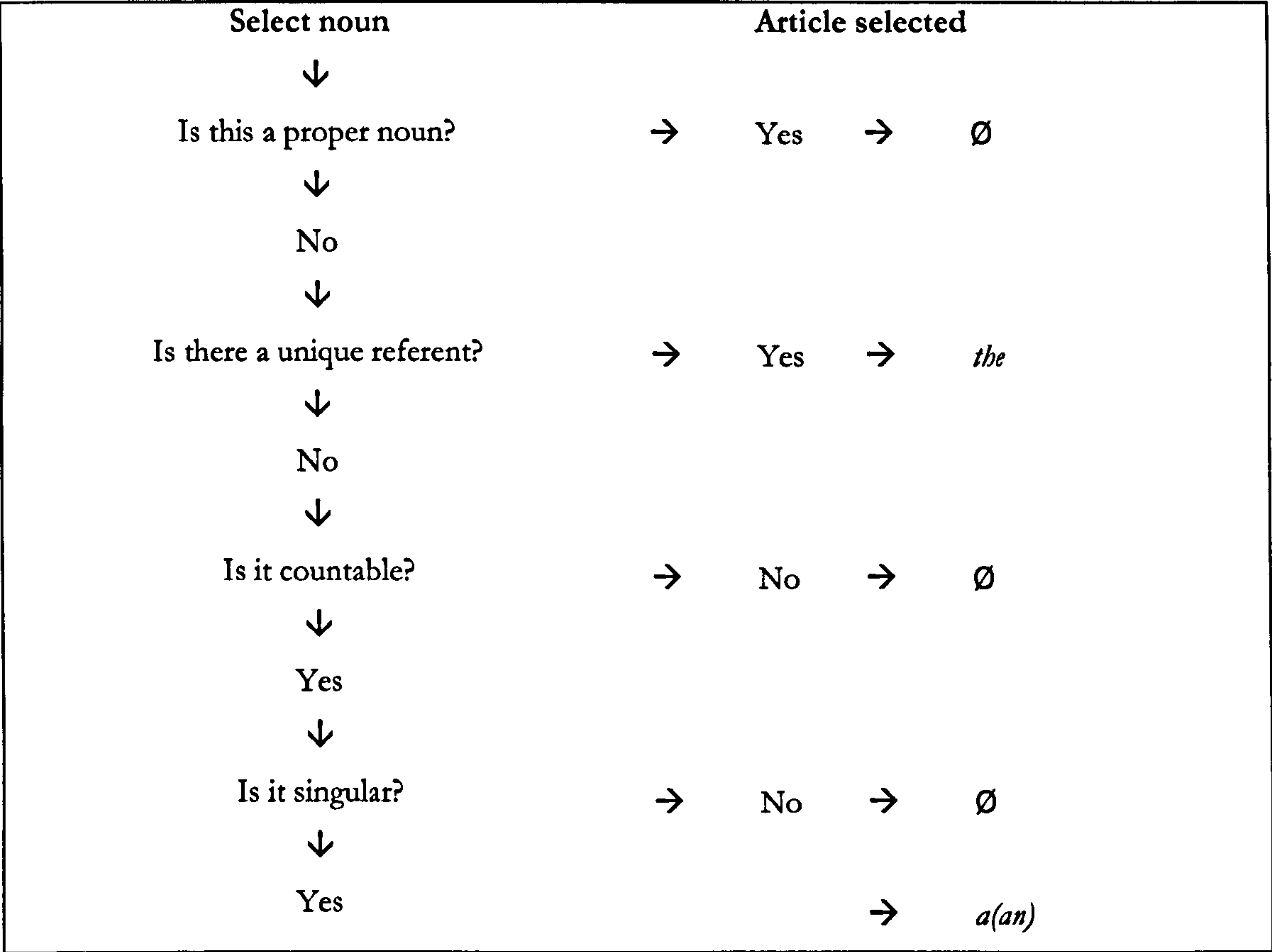
T11

Concordance

- 1
- but er... in my opinion erm I think er environment or... ok why? er because
- 2
- why? er because erm now - nowadays environment problem is very... very - no -
- 3
- some activity for example... about environment yeah? yeah that's a good
- 4
- idea. I definitely agree with that one, environment. Yes ok hm hmm so, what
- 5
- practice... yes I think it's difficult so... environment is good and er operating a
- 6
- with you operating a computer and the environment? So let's agree, no? hmm

The above concordance is taken from a single interaction (T11), and shows the results for the search word *environment* in a word list produced for this conversation. It is notable that *environment* occurs six times in the text, but only on one of these occasions is it preceded by the definite article. Importantly the word is also a very significant word in this particular speech event. Using the KeyWords tool in WordSmith with the full 38 transcriptions as the reference corpus, the top scoring key word in the list was *environment*. It therefore seems not to be the case that zero article has occurred here in an occasional or arbitrary way, as say a slip or idiosyncrasy, but rather that there is a degree of regularity about this novel use. There are numerous similar cases to be found throughout the data.

Up to this point we have looked at the use of zero article in ELF, both in cases where ENL would make use of definite article and cases where the indefinite article would be the most customary form. I will now turn to the use of definite articles in ELF interactions for contexts which in L1 Englishes would favour the zero article. The main uses of zero article are often dealt with in ENL grammars by referring to a series of choices available to a speaker in selecting whether to use definite, indefinite or zero articles. Yule (1998) in his pedagogic grammar, in fact presents these choices diagrammatically as shown in the following table, which has been adapted slightly to suit the present purpose.



(Adapted from Yule 1998: 27)

According to the descriptions provided in ENL grammars (cf. Quirk *et al* 1985 and Huddleston and Pullum 2002, two very comprehensive grammars of English) the zero article is used in front of the following:

- Proper nouns
- ∅ John lives in ∅ London
- Uncountable nouns
- ∅ news / ∅ information / etc.
- Plural nouns
- ∅ people like ∅ dogs

Not included in Yule’s table, however, is the point that these nouns are only preceded by the zero article in ENL when the reference is generic and not specific. Each of the above examples could be made specific by modifying the noun in some way, say if the noun were used in a defining relative clause, for example *the information which you gave me...* or *the people who live in...* In each case the definite article then becomes the preferred L1 option and the zero article is lost.

In my data, there is widespread use of the definite article with uncountable and plural nouns for generic reference, though very few examples of its occurrence in noun phrases containing proper nouns. Conversely, there are also some occasions in the current data where zero article is used with plural and uncountable nouns when these are modified by relative clauses and thus signal specific rather than generic reference. By far the strongest trend though is the use of *the* for generic reference, in conjunction with both singular as well as plural referents. This is illustrated in the following concordance sample, where *the* is entered as the search word and the concordance is organised according to the word immediately to the right (that is, in position R1 and shown here in red).

Concordance

125 what do we want to, to get to...? for the child I think it's not good if they
126 we think... about the parents or about... the child * yeah exactly what what, what
127 yeah I mean we have to think about the child and it... it's not easy it's
128 in one hand it is fair because of course the child has to have a a good family, but
129 I mean... it's the same in fact because the child hasn't a real father and... ok, I, I
130 er if if, if they have problem to bring up the child it will cause some other soc -
131 the parents you must think in yeah, for the child yeah in the... education of this
132 it's, it's... but the problem is also if the child is in school and I think other
133 couple live how it can influence on on the child life you know hm hm while an
134 the psychological... consequences on the child consequences yeah of that and
135 couple so the father, mother and the the child but er.. yeah, yeah so when I
136 at all, I don't. er I just - I care about the child you know, my my... because
137 how deal with the people, so yeah, the children in the big city is kind of
138 who live in the city, they don't know, the children just play the computer game
139 as well erm... the way that the, the children are - are taught and are...
140 of the government, you know that the children are not brought up in a
141 but I think the... the parents are part of the children behaviour as well erm... the
142 yeah, mother role yeah I think yeah if the children were brought up by the
143 was rape yeah yes and they don't want the children... but, how can they do? but
144 is really important for bringing up the children yeah yeah [yeah that's true]
145 well in China I I read some news about the children you know yeah if their
146 yeah but and the other problem is when the children was brought up by gay
147 yeah but in Korea in cultural things the... children's behaviour should blame -

This sample contains all the cases in the current data where definite article *the* co-occurs with *child* and *children*. Careful analysis of the contexts in which these two words appear reveals that on each occasion reference to *child* and *children*, as well as *children's* in concordance 147, is generic and not to a specific child or specific group of children. A number of these cases appear in T19, an interaction between two speakers (L1 German and L1 Spanish/Euskera), in which the topic of conversation was a recently reported news item on the adoption of a child by a gay couple. In the conversation reference was to the possible impact of this type of adoption on *the child* or *the children* in general. The use of *the child* for generic reference can also be found in ENL varieties, and is usually described as slightly more formal alternative to the more frequently attested zero article + plural referent when expressing general reference. In each of the other cases in the above sample, the preferred L1 form for *children* would be the zero article, and its occurrence here can be seen as another case where a linguistic resource is being used differently and innovatively by ELF speakers.

In addition, there are many attested cases in the current data of the definite article occurring with uncountable and abstract nouns where the reference is generic rather than specific. These include nouns such as *advice*, *democracy*, *euthanasia*, *industry*, *marriage*, *nature*, *pollution*, *nature*, and *society*, all of which appear in the current data. Below is a sample of some of the more frequent and salient cases, which have been taken from a concordance of *the* produced from my own ELF corpus.

Nature

Concordance

- 670 of their children? hmm... it's it's the... er the nature, the nature, how do you say
- 671 hmm... it's it's the... er the nature, the nature, how do you say the... ? yeah
- 672 in countryside yeah you can enjoy the nature, you can climb the mountain
- 673 to play, they know how to survive in the nature or in the society, instinct - un
- 674 nature, how do you say the... ? yeah the nature of the nature? So you you
- 675 you can't change it, I think it's not fair, the nature is like this or... don't change it
- 676 do you say the... ? yeah the nature of the nature? So you you can't change it, I
- 677 what do you get with with changing the the nature yeah you play god hmm? you

Pollution

Concordance

23 think the* most er...serious situation is the air pollution from the* hmm yeah
24 we think the most serious situation is the air pollution from the company and er
25 but usually I take water because of the air aah yes...how about you? I think
26 this one is the more serious...the...the air pollution...because...I don't know I

Concordance

828 does the... the bird die? because of the pollution I think ah... why? why?
829 enough yes for a factory to cut down the pollution they have to spend a lot of
830 a lot of money from company...the the pollution really... people will by the

Society

Concordance

1,042 know yeah it's very very harmful for the the society, so I don't agree... yeah, for
1,043 gay. It's not er very very healthy for the society so you mean, you are
1,044 with yeah discrimination hmm and here the society can... upset, but a little we
1,045 know how to survive in the nature or in the society, instinct - un - unconsciously

It is essential to point out here, however, that each of these nouns occurs elsewhere in the data where the zero article is used for general reference. We can in fact compare the above concordance sample where *society* collocates with the search word *the*, with a concordance where *society* is the search word itself, as shown in the following list.

Concordance

1 know what is good and what is bad for society so... yeah exactly because you
2 psychological... erm problems if our society makes these problems... I mean
3 will show him that's why but of our society would react in a toler - tolerant
4 gay. It's not er very very healthy for the society so you mean, you are against
5 there are a lot of gay is unhealthy for society yeah, yeah of course yeah but
6 yeah it's very very harmful for the the society, so I don't agree... yeah, for
7 yeah discrimination hmm and here the society can... upset, but a little we have
8 it's very... very important for family or for society, for country for country yeah
9 how to survive in the nature or in the society, instinct - un - unconsciously
10 just recently the problem arising in society is er you know the the rates of
11 and role of english in malaysian society especially the young people (...)

The above list shows the complete results of a concordance on the ELF data for the word *society*. There are 11 incidents of the word in the corpus, of which three have specific referents, with two occurrences of ‘our society’, and one of ‘Malaysian society’ (lines 2, 3 and 11 respectively). Of the remaining 8, which all involve generic reference, four occur with the zero article as they would in the L1 pattern (lines 1, 5, 8 and 10 where the word is preceded by a preposition), and four occur with the definite article. This is far from a unique case, and although it is unusual to see identical frequency of the two forms, the above examples do provide a particularly clear illustration of an emerging trend towards variability in the article system. This is in evidence in other word lists of abstract and uncountable nouns, where there is a fairly even distribution of definite article and zero article among cases where these types of noun are used to express general reference. There is then a good deal of variation in the use of articles in my corpus, with more intra- and inter-speaker variability than is the case in ENL, yet there are also some very strong tendencies unfolding. There are relatively extensive patterns of use emerging in the data, which are different from those found in ENL but which are nonetheless equally systematic. The variation revealed by this data appears to be far from random. This point will be taken up below in chapter 5 as part of the discussion into the underlying causes of the innovations being described.

4.2.5 Collocation

There are innovations in the way words combine with each other to form collocations and fixed expressions. There are a number of verbs with a high level of generality in semantics, such as verbs like *do*, *make*, and *take* where it is difficult to reliably assign meaning. The sense conveyed by these verbs largely depends on the subsequent object or complement. This can be illustrated by the shift in meaning of the verb *get* in the following collocations: *get bored/interested/tired/upset*; *get an email/message/phone call*; *get a car/the shopping etc.* In the first examples *get* combines with adjectives and conveys the meaning ‘become’, while in the second it collocates with nouns to mean ‘receive’, and in the final examples the collocations are also nouns but where the meaning is now slightly different, and can be described probably as something like ‘buy’ (though in the last cases meaning is particularly context dependent and the meaning of *get* here might be to ‘obtain’ by all manner of different means, including ‘steal a car’).

There are some very interesting differences in the distribution of these types of verb in ELF and ENL. The following table shows statistics for five of the most frequent verbs with semantic generality, comparing the findings of the demographic component of the BNCB and my own corpus.

Table 4.3: Distribution of verbs with high semantic generality in ELF Vs ENL

ELF Corpus			
Item	Frequency	Ranking	% of texts
Have	479	21	97.37
Do	433	23	100
Get	68	111	55.26
Make	51	136	60.53
Take	45	155	36.84
BNCB – Demographic component			
Item	Frequency	Ranking	% of texts
Have	7,754	19	100
Do	7,240	22	100
Get	4,746	24	100
Take	1,150	137	100
Make	857	164	96.67

The items in the above table have been organised according to their relative frequency in the two corpora, with the highest frequency item given first. The three columns show respectively the total number of occurrences for each item, the position of that item in the overall word list, and the percentage of texts in which it is found. In terms of the order of the items in terms of frequency, the five words have very similar rankings relative to each other in the two corpora. The only difference in this respect is that in the BNCB corpus the final two words, *take* and *make*, occupy different overall frequency positions and are reversed. There are however two other, more significant differences revealed by these statistics. Firstly, in the BNC data the words are more extensive, and are almost universal in their distribution. With the exception of *make* alone, the verbs appear in 100% of the source texts. In the case of *make* the frequency score is the next highest possible, with the word occurring in 29 out of the 30 communicative events that comprise the demographic component of the corpus. Secondly there is a significant difference in the overall importance of the word *get*, which has a far higher frequency in the BNC data relative to the size of the

corpus than it does in the ELF data. In my corpus *get* is ranked 111th in the overall list, which compares with 24th in BNCB, and occurs in only 55% of the source texts.

These differences can be interpreted in a number of ways. One factor here is again, as we have seen in the above discussion of articles, that there can be greater variability in ELF interactions in terms of the distribution of a lexicogrammatical item. The extent to which these high frequency verbs collocate in the ELF data is far less universal than in comparable ENL data, and thus more dependent on individual speakers and particular interactions in specific settings. Another important point is that what constitutes an important component in ENL collocations might be relatively unimportant in ELF. This is clearly the case with the word *get* which appears in a far wider range of collocations and fixed expressions in the BNCB demographic component than it does in my data. This will inevitably have important implications for language pedagogy and thus is dealt with at some length below in chapter 8. It is worth pointing out before moving on however that Lewis (1993, 1997) refers to the words currently under discussion as ‘delexicalised verbs’. Much importance is attached to these high frequency items in ELT. They are acclaimed for their productivity as attested by L1 English corpus studies, and hence are regarded as essential items in the language learning curriculum. *Get* in particular is often presented as a ‘key word’ for improving spoken fluency and ‘naturalness’. However, what is ‘natural’ in ELF seems to be even more context specific than tends to be the case in ENL varieties. Furthermore, in fact, if we examine closely the changes in collocation that seem to be transpiring in the current data, there seems to be a shift away from items that are delexicalised. If anything, many of the novel collocations in ELF seem to involve a kind of ‘relexicalisation’ process. This certainly appears to be the case with the use of *take*, as demonstrated by its semantic value in the following examples.

Figure 4.9: Collocations with *take*

Collocations with ‘take’	but (.) er: last summer i (,) i <u>took drive license</u> (,) so er maybe last (,) last year my hobby is er drive	T1 (Line 20)
	K: have you ever <u>taken operation</u> ? S: yes K: really? S: because er: maybe ten years ago i broke my leg	T7 (Line 35)
	she she can <u>take</u> (,) she can <u>take</u> (,) <u>plastic surgery</u> but hmm in korea beautiful beautiful woman have- <u>take</u> er <u>plastic surgery</u>	T10 (Line 65)

	yes so (,) but hm (,) if er if somebody hm <u>take a a disadvantage</u> because of they- their appearance i think they should er take surgery- plastic surgery	T10 (Line 72)
	...ok ah do you- do you need to <u>take an interview?</u>	T33

The above examples are taken from a WordSmith concordance of the ELF data, using as search words *take*, *takes*, *took*, *taking*, and *taken*. In total, the various forms of the verb produce 56 hits in the corpus. Many of these are not analysable as collocations as such since they are completely transparent and have a literal sense, as in attested examples such as *take* + *drug*. In addition to these cases, there are a number of relatively strong collocations and fixed expressions that also occur with high frequency in ENL, including attested examples in the ELF data of *take care*, *take responsibility*, *take time*, and so on, where the meaning is not so transparent. These can indeed be considered cases where the verb has become delexicalised since it no longer displays its usual semantic properties. In figure 4.9 on the other hand, the collocations are not usually found in ENL, and are therefore innovative uses of *take*. Although these particular examples are one-off cases, there is a pattern of use, as there is in each of these a close relationship between the literal sense of *take* and the overall meaning expressed by these phrases. In most of these the preferred option in L1 would most likely be *have*, as for example in *have* + *operation*, *have* + *surgery*, *have* + *interview*, whereas here *take* is the favoured form. (The speaker in the third example even monitors her speech, electing *take* after first considering *have*). The literal meaning of *take* often conveys something like ‘receive’ or ‘experience’, which is arguably closer than *have* to the proposition expressed in each of the examples in 4.9.

There are numerous other novel collocations in the ELF corpus, some of which appear to be relatively idiosyncratic, but most of which also point to the emergence of larger trends. In addition to the shift in the patterns of collocation with *take*, changes seem to be taking place in ELF with regard to the distribution of *do* and *make*. Some of these are presented below in figure 4.10.

Figure 4.10: Collocations with *do*

Collocations with ‘do’	... no no no (,) i mean if somebody <u>do a very severe... crime</u>	T24 Line 378
	...so only one or two person were killed if they <u>do some severe crime</u> but er maybe now	T24 Line 438
	yeah easy for me but now as i (,) i <u>did so many</u> erm efforts – <u>i’ve done so many efforts</u> so <@> for me... </@>	T29 Line 270
	erm: because if if you (,) if you choose to <u>do university</u> (,) er to make university er and at the end of university you found a job you:	T10 (part 2, line 37)

In the first three cases *do* has been used in a collocation which in ENL would be produced with *make*. In current practice in ELT, it is usually customary for pedagogic materials to recommend to learners that they select *make* over *do* if they are unsure which verb is most appropriate (see e.g. Swan 2005), as this tends to be the more frequent word in ENL collocations and fixed expressions. The above data suggests the relative importance of the two words may be very different in ELF interactions than is the case in ENL. It is possible that the collocational field of *do* is being extended as this occupies some of the phrases previously composed with *make*. There is also some evidence to suggest that there is a certain degree of free variation between the two words in ELF, where either verb can be used, as in *make an effort* and *do efforts*, both of which are attested in my corpus. In the final case above, the two verbs are both used in conjunction with the word *university* to form a phrase that does not occur in ENL, where neither verb can collocate in this way. Additional examples of innovative collocations, and in particular novel use of other fixed expressions and prefabricated chunks of language will be presented below in chapter 5 to help illustrate the underlying causes of changes to the lexicogrammar.

4.2.6 Word order

There are a number of different categories of word order variation in evidence in the ELF data, including adverbials, objects/complements, verbs, and adjectives. The most widespread innovations in syntax involve the adverbials category. There are for example many occasions where adverbs that customarily in ENL occupy a middle position in the clause are placed in initial position in the ELF interactions.

Figure 4.11: ELF Vs ENL word order patterns

Pattern	Examples	Sample
ENL = mid position	<u>also it was sometimes</u> difficult to understand for example briefing or meeting between crew members	T6 (Line 17)
ELF = initial position	<u>usually</u> I go to the cinema with my friends	T7 (Line 62)
	<u>almost I spend</u> – spend with my friend er just chatting	T9 (Line 91)
	So... <u>just I think</u> maybe this is just for fun	T9 (2: line 66)

The adverbs used in the above utterances, *almost*, *also*, *just*, *usually*, all tend to be placed in the middle of a clause in ENL, most often between the subject and verb, or between a first auxiliary and verb. There are many attested cases of these patterns in the demographic component of BNCB. The pattern is especially evident in a good number of the most frequent clusters containing these adverbs. This is particularly so in the case of *just* which appears in the phrases *I just said*, *I just thought*, *I'll just have*, *I've only just*, where *just* appears in the first two cases directly between the subject and verb, while in the latter two it appears after the subject and auxiliary but prior to the main verb. The pattern of use demonstrated in 4.13 is very different from this trend. In the ELF data use of this type of adverb in initial position is very frequent indeed.

In addition, there are also a good number of cases in my corpus where an adverb or adverbial phrase is placed between a verb and its object or complement. Some of these are adverbs that, according to ENL norms, customarily occur at the end of a clause. This is the case in the following example.

i like very much playing golf

T6 (Line 27)

Here, the adverbial *very much* intervenes between the verb and its complement, a pattern not usually found in L1 varieties of English. It is interestingly, however, a pattern which is common in Latin derived languages, as would be the case for example in an approximate Spanish translation of the above, *me gusta mucho el golf*. In ENL, multi word adverbials such as *very much*, or *very many* primarily occur in end positions, that is, after all the obligatory

elements in the clause, and occur only in mid positions as an expression of markedness. There are though numerous cases where multi word adverbials such as this occur directly before the object or complement. Other cases in the ELF data where an adverb is placed between a verb and its complement include adverbs of frequency and adverbs of manner, as demonstrated by the following examples.

i used to go out often with my friends	T6 (Line 33)
i can't stand generally spi– spider?	T6 (part 2, line 5)
but (,) actually i can't remember exactly the feeling	T7 (part 2, line 40)

Although less frequent in the data, there are also occasions where a mid position adverb is placed between the subject and first auxiliary, as in the following example.

and i also would like to go to a university here	T8 (Line 16)
--	--------------

If *also* were being used by the speaker to express a wish to attend university in addition to another person, then this example would not be innovative. However, close examination of the context reveals clearly that the speaker uses *also* to refer to the idea of going to university in the UK in addition to other events, rather than referring to *I* in addition to another subject.

There is one other notable feature regarding syntax and the use of adverbials that is attested in the ELF data. In the following example, the adverb *here*, denoting place, is used in a particularly innovative way.

i like london erm because i think here is great for study...	T8 (Line 24)
--	--------------

The adverb in this utterance seems to have not only changed position syntactically, but also shifted in terms of its grammatical nature and function. It is used here in the position that would otherwise be occupied by the pronoun *it*, where this would most likely make anaphoric reference to *London*. The adverb is thus fulfilling the role of subject in the

subsequent clause. We might also compare this with the use of *here* in a later utterance produced by the same speaker during the same interaction.

and also i like here because it's near europe T8 (Line 26)

The position of *here* in this example means that the adverb is also performing a different role, acting as the complement of the verb *like*. Again the adverb has been used to replace the pronoun *it*, though in a slightly different manner. In this second example it seems that *it* has been omitted through ellipsis, leaving *here* to take its place. The nature of *it* is also very different in this utterance. Whereas in the previous example *it* was an anaphoric pronoun referring backwards to *London*, in this case *it* can be described as an 'empty' or 'prop' subject pronoun, since it has no semantic value as such, and is simply there to fill an otherwise vacant slot. This occurs in a number of contexts in English, since as it is a non pro-drop language, that is a language which does not normally permit the subject to be omitted from a clause, an 'empty' or 'dummy' pronoun is often needed. This is most often used in phrases that make very general reference to time or the surrounding environment, such as in *what time is it?*, *It's hot today*, *it's getting late* and so on. It is also worth pointing out that these two utterances were produced by an L1 Portuguese speaker, in other words a speaker of a Latin derived language, which is a pro-drop language, and which does permit the use of the equivalent item, *aqui/acá*. This is also true in Italian (*qui* and *quà*) and in Spanish (*aquí* and *acá*), where these can be used as subjects of a clause.

Adverbs clearly represent a very interesting area of the lexicogrammar of ELF, appearing frequently in a range of innovative syntactical patterns. For this reason many of the examples presented above will be referred to again in chapter 5 as part of the discussion of the underlying processes effecting many of the changes that are occurring. Before moving on to consider the next lexicogrammatical feature, however, I would like to present a number of other variations in word order that occur in the current data. These include the following examples, where comments are provided for each one.

Figure 4.12: Adverb positions in ELF

The position of verbs			
Pattern	Comments	Example	Sample
Verb phrase in parenthesis	The verb ‘think’ is positioned within the complement of ‘be’, separating the constituent parts of the adjectival phrase	it’s a little bit i think difficult	T9

The position of object or complement			
Pattern	Comments	Example	Sample
Object or complement used before the main verb	The object is here used in initial, subject position	yes and er sometimes hmm very easy – easy word i can’t remember and...	T9

Word order and adjectives			
Pattern	Comments	Examples	Sample
Adjective used in front of the noun phrase	The adjective is here used immediately after the copula verb, with the subject ‘this sensation’ used as complement	it’s incredible this sensation	T8

The above three patterns are not as productive as those involving word order innovations with adverbial, but they do nonetheless warrant mention here. In the first of these a verb phrase has been inserted in the middle of a complement, a phenomenon that also occurs in ENL corpus studies and appears in corpus-based grammars (cf. Carter and McCarthy 2006). In the second example the object has been placed before the subject and verb, while in the final utterance the speaker has used the adjective *incredible* in front of the noun phrase. It seems likely that these three cases share an underlying motivation, that the element in question has been shifted in order to provide emphasis. This matter will also be taken up further in chapter 5.

4.2.7 Relative Pronouns

There are several cases in my data where pronoun use in relative clauses differs from the established norms found in ENL. The importance of *which* relative to other relative

pronouns, particularly to *who*, appears to be different in ELF than it is in ENL. Yule (1998) in a discussion of relative clauses for example, observes that *who* is the most common subject pronoun. However, a comparison of the relative rankings and frequency of these two pronouns in my data and the demographic component of BNCEB suggests a striking pattern of development in the use of relative clauses in ELF communication. In the BNC data *who* (with 1020 tokens) is ranked marginally above *which* (with 956 tokens) when the word list for the corpus is sorted according to frequency. This trend is reversed in the word list produced for my corpus, where *which* ranks significantly above *who*, with 77 tokens compared with 57 tokens respectively. Below is a concordance sample from my own ELF data. The list contains cases where uses of *which* differ from L1 English patterns, and may therefore account for the increased frequency of this item relative to the other pronouns.

Concordance

- 1 two months ago and I research Bush, which is the father Bush hm hm not the
- 2 family, but there are a lot of children which need a family and so many Italian
- 3 of identity in a bilingual community which will be the second generation of
- 4 the United States they do everything which they want yeah they... a bit bossy
- 5 aliens but: the second generation which is actually born and raised in
- 6 London I live in North East of London which is Southgate. And you? I'm living
- 7 learners (,) in english resemble those which are the most frequent ones in (,)

As can be seen in the above examples, innovation in the use of relative pronouns often involves an extension to the use of *which* to include functions previously only served by *who*. In the first case, *which* is used in a non-defining relative clause to give additional, non essential information about the proper noun 'Bush'. This seems notable, though it is for the moment unusual, as it is not attested elsewhere in the corpus. The second example appears to be more characteristic, however. Here the pronoun is used in place of the preferred L1 form *who* in a defining relative clause with a general noun, 'children'. Reference is also made to a human agent in lines 3, 5 and 7 where *which* combines with a collective noun used to describe a group of people, 'community', 'generation' and 'learners'. In ENL for some nouns with a collective human referent, such as say *government*, there are two possibilities, with *who* and *which* both permitted. Yule (1998) states that, while *which* occurs often with collective antecedents, *who* may be the preferred form if the speaker wishes to highlight the human

aspect of the referent. In such cases in ELF it seems the emergent trend is towards a preference for the *which* variant regardless.

The remaining cases in the above concordance sample are slightly different in nature. In line 4 the relative *which* is used together with another pronoun *everything* in a defining clause, while in ENL patterns this is most likely to be omitted through ellipsis or realised with the use of *that*. It is worth considering here what Yule says on the use of *which* and *that*.

Speakers use *that* in relative clauses when there is no need to mark the referent as having special properties. The relative pronoun *that* neutralizes the normal distinction between *who* and *which* (i.e. human versus non-human) [...] In essence, the relative pronoun *that* signals that all relevant properties of the referent are already known from the antecedent, or are otherwise irrelevant at that point.
(Yule 1998: 252, parenthesis in original)

In addition to describing *that* as the more likely form in cases where it is unimportant to mark distinctions regarding the properties of the referent, Yule states that *which* tends to be significantly less frequent in subject relative clauses than both *that* and the zero relative in spoken English. This is especially so when there is no distinct meaning content required by the pronoun. This seems not to be so much the case in ELF however, where as we have seen in the current data *which* is used more widely. In addition to the cases already described, in line 6 of the above concordance sample *which* is used to express reference to a place.

There are also other variations in the use of relative clauses that are attested in the corpus. These include the following examples:

- A: hm (,) i yes i like london i think er: it's a
cosmopolitan city that you: that you can meet a lot
of people from different countries er: you learn a a
lot about different countries

T8
(Line 19)
- yeah but you should do that i have done

T8
(2, Line 32)

The above utterances provide direct contrast to the observations of Yule regarding the use of *that* in clauses where the pronoun does not carry any distinct meaning in relation to the referent. In both cases *that* has been used in place of pronouns which convey specific meaning, *where* to refer to place, and *what* in a nominal relative clause.

Finally, there are several cases in the data where relative pronouns are omitted in contexts where the zero relative would not occur in ENL varieties. This is the case in the following two utterances, where *which/that* and *who* have been omitted respectively.

and er i think that maybe you know very: hmm (.)
successful if you have done something can help
people

T8
(Line 72)

...there must be a person control your country

T23
(Line 239)

These are both subject relative clauses, that is, defining relative clauses in which reference is made to the subject of the subsequent verb. According to ENL norms the zero relative is only permissible in clauses where the relative pronoun defines the object of a verb, as would be the case in *a person (who) you know...*, where the relative pronoun refers to an object and is thus often omitted through a process of ellipsis. There are, in fact, many cases in the corpus where ellipsis takes place with elements that in ENL are obligatory. It is also possible for example that there is a process of ellipsis in operation in the following relative clause:

-L: i would love to have this grammar book
which er (x) people speak more erm (.) er easy – in
easy way?

T29
(line 203)

This is however open to interpretation. It can either be seen as an example where *which* has again replaced the pronoun *where*, as we have seen in other contexts above, or that this is part of a prepositional relative, and the preposition *in* has been omitted. Either way, the occurrence of *which* in this last example is further evidence of variation in the use of relative clauses.

4.3 Summary of findings

The objective of this chapter has been to distil those aspects of the lexis and grammar that appear to be most salient in the corpus transcriptions. There are of course a good many features that I have not commented on so far, but which also seem to be worth close analysis. For reasons of space, and in the interest of clarity, it is not possible here to describe all of the features found to be occurring in the data. Certain innovative features in the grammar and lexis of ELF are though particularly evident in the corpus, and these I feel

have all been analysed in this chapter. The most characteristic innovations can be observed to be operating on four different linguistic levels: grammar and syntax; semantics; morphology; and at the level of discourse. Most of the data presented above relate to the first four of these, at the possible expense of the analysis of discoursal features. This is primarily because the focus of the research questions was predominantly lexicogrammatical in nature, and although clearly patterns of lexis and grammar need to be studied at the level of discourse, I felt that to attempt to describe this in any detail would shift the focus of the research more towards pragmatics than lexicogrammar. As this research project progressed it became continually more apparent that this was in part problematic, and decisions had to be made along the way to include some features and exclude others. This also means that certain aspects of the data would likely be further explained by close analysis of the interrelationship of pragmatics and lexicogrammar. Cogo and Dewey (in press) adopts a more integrated approach, and sees these two areas as largely mutually constituted.

In summarizing the data gathered for this thesis I return now to the research questions identified in chapter 3 and discuss each of them in turn in order to identify to what extent descriptions of ELF can thus far offer answers to those questions. The first two research questions are perhaps best dealt with together, since the second is so clearly dependent on the first. These are as follows:

- *What grammatical constructions and lexical items are commonly used in successful ELF communication that would not usually be found in standard ENL varieties?*
- *Can we identify systematic features common to successful NNS-NNS interaction that could then be considered characteristic of ELF varieties?*

All of the features presented above represent variations in form of established ENL descriptions of lexis, grammar and syntax. Also, those features that result in successful communication have only been included here, as the main aim of this research is to show how innovative language use most often leads to effective interaction, and in terms of lexis and grammar very seldom results in miscommunication. In addition, the items described in this chapter have all been selected for their frequency and prominence in the data – they are the cases of innovation found to be most widespread in this corpus and are thus

characterized as systematic. In chapter 8 these features are further summarized in light of their potential inclusion in codifications of ELF, particularly with regard to the future development of language reference resources for use in ELT pedagogy.

The third research question presented in chapter 3 is as follows:

- *To what extent can speakers be said to accommodate towards a co-construction of emergent ELF forms?*

This has proven to be a particularly important aspect of ELF communication. It seems very much to be the case that in effective intercultural communication speakers are especially characterised by a willingness to interact co-operatively. ELF speakers use the language in mutually convergent ways, often resulting in the emergence of new patterns of lexis and grammar. This will be dealt with a greater length in chapter 5 as accommodation is one of the key processes by which ELF settings generate innovative use of English.

The final research question asks:

- *Which items in 'non-standard' L1 English lexicogrammar lead to miscommunication, and what might thus constitute an error in lingua franca usage?*

This is in part a very straightforward question, and is very simple one to answer. There are practically no cases in this corpus where innovations in lexis or grammar lead to a breakdown in communication, or which appear to result in a slowing down or even momentary miscommunication. There are occasions when speakers orient very carefully and attentively to an innovation in the lexis, overtly addressing the intelligibility of an item they are using. Where there were problems in the interactions, this is primarily either to do with auditory problems or was related to features of phonological difference, problems which were usually overcome by straightforward repetitions. There are, however, a number of non-standard items which tend to be closely monitored by speakers themselves. These primarily involve the tense system, with speakers often modifying the verb according to the temporal frame of reference, except in the case of the present perfect - past simple distinction, which tends to be far more invariant. The following represent a selection of some of the cases in

the corpus where speakers pay explicit attention to the tense of the verb, recasting what they say almost immediately.

Figure 4.13: Recasting of verbs in past tense

i teaching (,) i (,) <u>i teach (,) i was teaching</u> high school students mathematics	T2 (Line 28)
i have to speak english fluently (,) and er: when i (,) when i studied at university two years ago one professor always <u>give- gave</u> me English test	T2 (Line 81)
Focused on the past (,) just past (,) they (,) they erm (,) we- our country is- our country was defeated and <u>we have to change- we had to change</u> (,) so nowadays japan is a really high technology country	T24 (Line 163)
when i (,) when i was: young boy <u>we can we (,) we could</u> see some japanese film	T24 (Line 189)
... so maybe you <u>can't – you couldn't learn that</u>	T24 (Line 223)

Close monitoring for tense as evidenced here tends to occur relatively frequently in the data, which is in stark contrast to most of the non-standard grammatical features in the corpus. There are no cases for instance where a speaker ‘repairs’ use of 3rd person zero, article use, or use of prepositions in relation to an ENL norm. It seems therefore, that for whatever reason, speakers in ELF settings are disinclined to innovate with past and present tense distinctions. This is also not the case with differences in aspect, and there are several cases in the corpus where speakers are willing to use for instance a ‘stative’ verb in progressive form. This is not to say necessarily though that non-standard use of the tense system should be regarded as erroneous in ELF communication. Deciding what constitutes an error is far more complex, and this part of the final research question is far more difficult to answer. With regard to the pedagogical implications of my findings, it is probably for the time being at least, more appropriate for teachers to prioritise correction of present/past forms than other non-standard use of lexis and grammar. The findings thus far suggest that the tense system of an L1 model is therefore also relevant in ELF settings. It seems speakers perceive that the ENL forms encoded in the tense system are communicatively important, and given

the extent of self-monitoring and attention to form they are likely seen as a potential source of misinterpretation.

A further grammatical structure worth noting here is *used to*. The following extracts all contain cases where *used to* occurs in a non-standard form.

Figure 4.14: *Used to* in ELF

L:	er: in my free time <u>i used to: playing</u>	T6
golf		(Lines 20-23)
T:	hmm hmm	
L:	erm (,) visiting my friends (,) i like very	
much playing golf and if i have a (,) a day free i		
usually go playing with my club		
L:	erm where are you from?	T4
C:	i'm from japan	(Lines 1-4)
L:	and tell me something about your (.)	
the area you live in		
C:	er (,) <u>i'm (,) i'm live (,) i used to live in</u>	
countryside		
A:	i think it depends of the issue that you	T8
are talking about er: if it's something easy that		(Lines 30 – 32)
you <u>are used to talk about- that you are used to</u>		
<u>talking about</u> then no problem		

I have not included *used to* as a characteristic ELF feature for two principal reasons: firstly, the feature is infrequent; secondly, and arguably more importantly, it also tends to be monitored and reformulated by the speaker. In fact, in the above examples only the first is not accompanied by conscious attention to form. If we consider this first example carefully, the meaning is potentially ambiguous. It is unclear what is intended with speaker A's utterance when viewed in isolation. It seems reasonable to suppose there may be up to three possible interpretations: 1, that the speaker is here making reference to a discontinued habit, such as would be expressed in standard L1 English by *I used to play golf*; 2, that playing golf is a familiar and not unusual activity for the speaker to be doing, as would be expressed with the form *I am used to playing golf*; and 3, that the speaker is referring to a pastime that he often takes part in, such as would be expressed by *I usually play golf*. It only becomes clear which of these interpretations is the most likely in the subsequent utterance, which suggests that the third possibility is the most plausible in the context. This particular meaning was confirmed by the speaker at a later date when shown a copy of the transcription, who when asked to

comment on his English in the conversation identified this form as being erroneous in his view. Furthermore, the problematic nature of this form is perhaps also evidenced here by the pause between 'used to' and 'playing'. This form is often preceded by a pause, and there is characteristically some rehearsal of the structure. There seems to be a certain ambiguity involved, and the semantic distinctions encoded in the ENL norms for *used to* are important to EFL speakers. It would seem that speakers in the other cases given above are particularly aware of the L1 normative model, and monitor their speech to ensure that the construction is used accordingly. Any instability with the form is then perhaps best viewed in terms of a transitional feature of an individual speaker's language acquisition, and may not in that case be regarded as a newly emerging feature.

There is therefore a clear distinction to be made between those features that can be regarded as innovative, and those that are best regarded as more idiosyncratic. I return in chapter 5 to some of the data presented in this chapter with a view to illustrating my discussion of the possible motives and causes that underlie innovation and change in ELF. The objective is to further establish ways in which the items described as systematic might be regarded as distinctive ELF characteristics, and features that warrant future codification.

Chapter 5

The underlying processes and motivations that effect change

5.1 Introduction

Each of the features described in chapter 4 can be investigated for the underlying causes that have led to their emergence. These include motivating forces and linguistic processes that can in many cases be observed in operation with some degree of transparency. In other areas of change explanations have, for the moment at least, to be more speculative as there is not always the same level of transparency, and because very often there may be more than one, sometimes even seemingly contradictory processes in operation. It is notoriously difficult, often argued in fact to be simply not possible, to describe and explain language change as it is occurring. We can ultimately only fully describe and account for changes once they have become fully established, and thus after they have occurred.¹ Yet increasingly, corpora are sufficiently vast, and the software available for analysing them sufficiently sophisticated that we can now far more than ever, trace shifts in language patterns and trends as they are emerging. As these shifts are traced it is possible and fruitful to attempt to make better sense of them by considering their likely causes, the motives that lead to their appearance, and by relating them to other previous and possible subsequent linguistic changes. All this gives rise to fundamental questions with far reaching implications in the study of language change, and the historical development of English. (For this reason the discussion of historical linguistics in chapter 7 deals at length with the implications of the data in the history of the language.)

In the meantime, I will turn to the processes and motivations that can be inferred from the data. In terms of the underlying motivations, these include: *exploiting redundancy*, *added prominence*, *regularization*, *accommodation*, *reinforcement of proposition*, and *increased explicitness*. In addition, each innovative feature can be categorised according to the linguistic nature of the process involved, as this also helps shed light on the factors affecting variation and

¹ I use 'occurred' here not 'finished' because language change does not ever finish as such of course, except when a language dies out. An individual lexicogrammatical item may have changed for instance, but the process will have no completion because of the essentially dynamic nature of language. This one item will be related to others that have undergone change either beforehand, simultaneously, or subsequently. Processes of change are very much ongoing, affecting all manner of areas of the language.

change. These categories of change include: *semantic addition*, and *grammatical shift*. Each will be discussed in turn and explored in some depth below in an attempt to account for the likely causes of lexical and grammatical innovation found in the data. I will return to the more salient features presented in chapter 4, but for reasons of space and in the interest of efficiency I will not deal with each of those features one by one. The discussion will instead focus on those cases of innovation that seem best suited to illustrate and clarify the processes that underlie variation and change. In considering the apparent underlying causes for each of the more frequent and salient features, the main objective of the current chapter is to give a more detailed explanation of the nature of the processes involved in their emergence. This includes, in particular, an investigation into the role of accommodation in language change generally, and in ELF especially, as well as an exploration throughout of semantically motivated changes. In most cases, however, the nature of the processes involved are very complex, and individual underlying motives are difficult to separate out. Most often there are multiple and interrelated motivations for the changes that have been recorded. For this reason there is a certain amount of overlap inevitable in the different areas of discussion. Every attempt though has been made to categorise the data as systematically as possible.

5.2 Exploiting redundancy

A number of the innovations in the lexicogrammar of ELF usage occur as the result of speakers actively exploiting elements of redundancy inherent in the system. These include most notably in my data the use of 3rd person singular zero, and the frequent ellipsis of the object or complement of a transitive verb. The way in which redundancy is exploited often results in a shift in the grammatical system, which in the case of the 3rd person singular form, has resulted in a change to the inflectional morphology.

5.2.1 3rd Person Singular Zero

The 3rd person singular zero is a very good candidate for illustrating how processes of change are operating in ELF, as it is not only very prominent in the corpus, but it is also indicative of several different factors motivating change. Trudgill (2002) in addressing why East Anglian dialects use 3rd person singular zero, points out how in contemporary standard Englishes (Trudgill uses ‘Standard English’) the *-s* is something of a typological anomaly.

The feature is firstly unique; in present tense verb forms only 3rd person singular displays any morphological marking. Secondly, its occurrence is, according to typologists, all the more unusual because it is precisely the least likely form cross-linguistically to receive any such marking. Among the world's languages English, then, is something of an oddity for its inflection of only one of the present tense verb forms, and especially so for its attachment of the inflectional morpheme to the third person singular. The more pertinent and certainly more justifiable question then with regard to 3rd person singular *-s* is not the one Trudgill poses, i.e. why L2 speakers and some speakers of L1 dialects use the zero form, but precisely the opposite - why in standard varieties of English does the 3rd person singular verb continue to carry morphological marking? Zero marking for first, second, and third person plural makes the use of the singular *-s* an unexpected irregularity, and surely the phenomenon that most requires explanation.

In fact Trudgill goes on to comment that there are a considerable number of English varieties which make use of the 3rd person singular zero, including as well as East Anglian dialects in the UK, African American Vernacular English, English-based creoles of the Caribbean and West Africa, and indigenized L2 varieties such as Singapore English. Many of these varieties have evolved as the result of language contact², in situations where the irregularity and markedness of the unusual *-s* would likely appear quite cumbersome, and largely unnecessary. Perhaps predictably then, increased language contact has often in the past resulted in the *-s* losing out to competition from the more regular, and thus more natural, zero option. The shift away from the *-s* produces better consistency, resulting in a more systematic pattern with universal zero morphological marking for all present verb forms. This means it is entirely to be expected in ELF settings, where language contact is not only considerably extensive, but also a constitutive factor in any occurrence of ELF interaction.

² Trudgill (2002:97) presents evidence to account for the existence of third person *-s* zero in East Anglian dialects. He suggests that as with the case of creoles and L2 Englishes the phenomenon occurs as the result of significant language contact. He observes how in the sixteenth century Norwich, at the time by far the largest urban centre in East Anglia and therefore the most significant influence linguistically, was home to some 6000 recent immigrants (at that time 37% of the city's population) from the low countries and was a setting for quite considerable language contact. Most interesting of all is Trudgill's observation that English was not only used by the immigrant population to communicate with the indigenous locals, but also to communicate with each other, that is as a lingua franca between the French speaking and Dutch speaking immigrant groups. Remarkably Trudgill explains that it is this lingua franca use which reinforces the shift from the competing native forms of *-s* and *-eth* in favour of the non-native zero form.

Any linguistic system that contains an element so marked in nature is bound to be prone to change, especially in contact situations. Trudgill (1986) in fact comments on how the 'more natural' option in dialect contact invariably wins in situations where there are a number of features in competition. It is thus entirely probable, not to mention logical that the 3rd person zero should be a characteristic feature of ELF. This increased regularity that the zero *-s* allows is also a likely explanation for a good number of other features found in the data and described above in chapter 4. There are several reasons for this, all of which point to the underlying processes that give rise to ongoing changes.

In addition to the added systematicity that 3rd person zero affords, there is also the issue of communicative redundancy. As mentioned in chapter 4 in the discussion of word order changes, English is a non pro-drop language, meaning that the subject pronoun cannot under normal circumstances be omitted. This makes the 3rd person *-s* largely redundant, since the explicit presence of the subject in the clause is sufficient to convey meaning, providing the listener with all the relevant information necessary to interpret the utterance and thus avoid any ambiguity. Typologically, languages that are highly inflected tend to be pro-drop, permitting omission of the subject pronoun, as is the case with Italian, Portuguese and Spanish. To illustrate this point we can compare the following three utterances, in Italian, Spanish and then finally English.

Sono andato al cinema

Fuí al cine

? went to the cinema

In the first two, there is no ambiguity: any interlocutor understands from the morphology of the verbs in the Italian and Spanish versions who went to the cinema. In fact in both of these utterances the first person singular pronouns *Io* and *Yo* respectively would be regarded as redundant in normal conversation, and would only be used to provide special emphasis. It is only the English version which is ambiguous, as it seems to be incomplete. With no morphological marking on the verb we do not know the identity of the subject. Of course, there are many contexts where the pronoun in English is not needed, as can be demonstrated in the following exchange.

S1: what you do yesterday?

S2: went to the cinema, saw a film, really good

The ellipsis in the above adjacency pair has been found to be typical of spoken grammar in ENL (e.g. Carter and McCarthy 1997). Where there are sufficient contextual clues and the deixis of face to face communication, the pronoun is not necessary. Omission of the auxiliary *did* in the first turn, and omission of the pronouns and copular *be* in the second turn are very natural in informal spoken discourse. In the absence of these clues, however, the pronoun conveys essential information, and in many cases is required to avoid ambiguity. It is difficult, on the other hand, to imagine any contexts where the use of *-s* would carry similar propositional content. In terms of conveying meaning its use is therefore communicatively redundant, thus making this a prime example of how shift can take place in the grammatical system.

5.2.2 Transitivity

The ellipsis of objects and complements of transitive verbs described in chapter 4 represents a further area of ELF usage in which there is an element of exploited redundancy. There is a strong sense that the reconfiguration in the way transitive verbs behave has a meaningful function at the discourse level. If we return to an example of *allow*, quoted above in chapter 4 (see figure 4.2 for a fuller description), the relationship between patterns in discourse and the ellipsis of complements becomes apparent.

would you allow gay couples to adopt or
wouldn't you allow?

In this utterance it is notable that the complement is stated explicitly in the first instance but then subsequently omitted by the speaker later in the turn. In such an utterance in ENL it would be commonplace for ellipsis to occur with the verb as well, resulting in *wouldn't you?* It is notable that here the speaker has opted to use ellipsis with the complement, but to repeat the verb, as this is likely seen to be more fundamental to the meaning of the utterance. On one level this phenomenon can be regarded as a means of maximizing the efficiency of communication, where the linguistic resources made available to the expression of meaning are carefully monitored and limited to the essential items needed to convey the message.

There would certainly be a degree of redundancy involved if the complement were repeated with the verb. Additionally however, we can postulate that using the main verb in sentence final position with no additional component following it places more prominence on the verb, thereby allocating it a more significant illocutionary force. It may be the case therefore that as speakers continue to exploit the redundancy inherent in the transitive verb system, they become aware of the effect this can have in raising the prominence of the verb, and thus aware of the potential for increasing the clarity or the weight of the message. As speakers exploit this feature further, the initial motive to avoid redundancy and add to efficiency of communication, leads to an additional reason for not explicitly stating the complement or object, i.e. to make the verb more prominent in the discourse. As a result of this secondary motivation, the process may well increase in intensity, and the tendency for transitive verbs to be used in this way could become evermore widespread and commonplace in ELF communication. If the prominence motive became the primary determining factor in the process then the tendency towards complement ellipsis would be especially frequent in sentence final position.

This seems a useful hypothesis at this stage, though it is certainly one that needs to be fully investigated and properly tested. In the absence of a larger corpus with which to conduct a more systematic quantitative analysis it is not possible here to state categorically whether the sentence position of the omission is a significant factor in the emergence of this feature or not. This is an essential empirical issue, and although this needs to be monitored further, the data so far suggests that speakers are attuned to the added prominence that ellipsis of this kind gives to a verb in end position. Continued collection of ELF data and much larger scale analysis than is possible here will no doubt shed further light on the matter. This may reveal that the feature is more likely to occur at end position than mid position, or vice versa that mid-position is more characteristic, or equally that there is no statistical significance with regard to where in the discourse the feature occurs. If such analysis were to reveal statistically greater occurrence in the end position this would suggest that in ELF usage explicit complement use at the end of an utterance will be untypical for reasons of discourse management and the desire to add emphasis. This could of course account for the relative proliferation of *think* in some sections of the corpus (see chapter 4, figure 4.3) in that mental process verbs functioning for the expression of opinions and beliefs may well be exactly the kind of verb that warrants special emphasis. We therefore

might expect a shift of this nature to occur most in verbs of perception and sensation, especially where these are affective in nature. The limited number of verbs with which the phenomenon occurs in L1 Englishes seems to bear this out, that at least initially with change in this area there is a connection to emphasis of mood and feeling, as with the use of ‘enjoy’ in service encounters when a waiter brings a meal to the table in a restaurant and urges the customers to *enjoy (your meal)*, opting to delete the complement and thus highlight the process. This is also a good illustration of how ELF innovations are part of wider changes in English, many of which are taking place in a natural direction. The only difference in ELF is that the motives underpinning these innovations appear to be stronger, thus causing them to spread more quickly than they are in ENL.

As a preliminary study into the possibility of there being an underlying semantic motivation for this kind of change, and in order to anticipate further data collection I have consulted a number of comprehensive grammars of English. Huddleston and Pullum (2002) for example provide a further level of analysis in distinguishing between verbs that are dynamic (e.g. *read*) and stative (e.g. *know*). They point out that the distinction between states and events is not one that is sharply drawn in reality. A number of verbs cannot reliably be assigned to either of these categories, but rather occupy a middle ground between a stative and dynamic conceptualization. Huddleston and Pullum identify a number of verb classes that belong to this ‘in between’ area: verbs of perception and sensation, for example *see, hear, smell*, etc.; verbs of cognition, emotion, and attitude, *believe, fear, regret* etc.; and stance verbs, *stand, lie, sit*.³ It is also notable that a good number of the verbs in the data can take a transitive and intransitive form in L1 Englishes. It may well be the case that this is a significant aspect in determining the likelihood of a shift occurring, that verbs which behave both transitively and intransitively in standard NS varieties are to a greater extent predisposed to alter in nature and are shifting towards a single intransitive variant. It is possible that we are witnessing in the data the beginnings of an ongoing process of neutralization where verbs such as ‘know’, ‘understand’ and so on emerge only or primarily in an intransitive form, regardless of whether or not the meaning would be transitive or intransitive in established standard Englishes.

³ However, these are of course all intransitive in nature and therefore not applicable with regard to this particular aspect of grammatical variation – though they may hold relevance to other types of grammatical shift that are taking place in the lexicogrammar of ELF.

It is however entirely possible that there will be no significance regarding either the sentence position of this feature or the semantic nature of the verb, with no general pattern in the underlying motive for complement deletion but rather a tendency for inter-speaker variation. It is a perfectly plausible scenario that individuals opt to use the feature according to their communicative needs and to best fit the purpose of a given setting. Either way what is evident is the tendency to use transitive verbs in this way is an emerging trend in lingua franca spoken discourse, with ELF users at the forefront of language change in this area. This is quite possibly because the intransitive/transitive distinction relates largely to formal properties of the language. It is therefore an area of the lexicogrammatical system that is especially porous, allowing different interpretations of the rules.

As Innovation in ELF is often driven by discourse meaning, such areas are particularly prone to variation and change, with speakers actively exploiting semantic meaning regardless of the formal properties displayed in ENL varieties. There is a clear indication in the data that intransitive uses of verbs, and ellipsis of the complements of transitive verbs, are often preferred because it is the activity or the process denoted by that verb which is seen as most important. The findings of this corpus strongly suggest this is a particularly characteristic feature, and irrespective of the possible motives for its use, the zero complement adds further weight to the argument that ELF speakers have agency over the linguistic resources at their disposal, readily selecting these to best suit their purposes. This agency often entails an exploiting of redundancy, with the result that items that are deemed non-essential to meaning are lost, either through a grammatical or morphological shift, as in the case of the 3rd person zero, or through ellipsis, as in the case of transitive verbs. In both cases, but particularly in relation to transitivity, redundancy is exploited for the purpose of efficiency of communication.

5.3 Semantic addition and regularization

There are emerging patterns of innovation in the data that represent a combination of a change in the grammatical system with an underlying semantic motivation. This is most notable in the current corpus with the use of prepositions, especially in cases where in ENL the equivalent preposition would almost entirely be dependent on the preceding word, and thus semantically empty. In ELF, innovative preposition usage often appears to entail a semantic shift, a process whereby the preposition is being assigned an additional semantic

value. Similarly, there are a good number of cases in the data where changes in collocation, especially verb/noun combinations involve a degree of semantic addition.

5.3.1 Prepositions

Innovative use of prepositions provides a strong indication that in ELF settings English represents a set of linguistic resources that are being employed in very different ways than is customary in British English (BrE) and American English (AmE). As discussed in chapter 4, there is often an underlying semantic cause for some of the variation in prepositions, thus making this area of lexicogrammar a very good example of how shifts in semantics and grammar can be mutually constitutive of change. On the one hand, there are cases where a shift in the ENL pattern has taken place as the result of a regularization of syntactical patterns, and on the other there are those where a preposition has been assigned a semantic value. The following examples of novel preposition use are indicative of the more grammatically oriented changes, all of which are common in the corpus.

Discuss + about

Mention (vb) + about

Influence (vb) + on

In each of these cases the innovative use of the preposition can be seen as the result of a regularization of the system. The occurrence of these verbs without the preposition, the preferred L1 form, represents something of an anomaly, an interruption of an otherwise reliable pattern. To take the case of *discuss*, for example, its use in ENL without a preposition is an irregularity, a notable exception to the syntactic sequence displayed in each of the following utterances.

She told me about the problem

We talked about it a lot

We argued about why it mattered

She hasn't spoken about it since

Each of these verbs performs a similar role to all of the others, as each represents a means of communicating a message. The preposition *about* is used for each verb in these utterances, connecting the verb phrase with its complement. It is useful here to draw on some of the terminology used in functional grammar to show further how the utterances are related to

each other. To describe the experiential function of language, the terms *participant*, *process*, and *circumstance* are used in functional grammar to denote the three constituents of a clause (see e.g. Butt *et al* 2000; Halliday and Matthiessen 2004.) The participant constituent can be described further in terms of the various roles it can hold, such as *actor*, *agent*, *goal* and so on. In the examples presented above, the subject participants, *she* and *we*, have in each case the role of ‘sayer’, while the participant *me* is the ‘receiver.’ The process can be divided into *material*, *relational* and *projecting*. The verbs in the above utterances can be classified as projecting, and then further described as verbal processes because they encode ways of projecting an experience through speaking. To continue with the metalanguage of functional grammar we can analyze the words *problem* and *it* as the ‘target’, in other words the matter being talked about. To sum up, the functional analysis of the above utterances can all be represented diagrammtically, which in the first example is as follows:

She	told	me	(about)	the problem
Participant: Sayer	Process: Verbal	Participant: Receiver	Target	

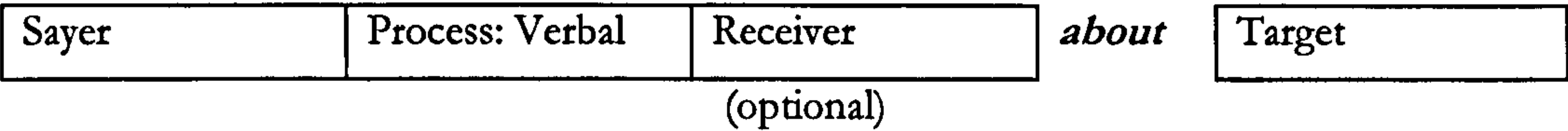
Although the precise configuration of these constituents will vary somewhat from one utterance to the next, occurrence of the preposition *about* between the process and target is pretty much universal among verbs that encode ways of communicating.

Also reinforcing the importance of this preposition is its semantic value, as illustrated for instance in the following two utterances:

- He told me the story*
- He told me about the story*

In this case the preposition serves an important function, differentiating between two distinct meanings: in the former the story is the target, i.e. what is being communicated, whereas in the second case the listener hears information regarding the story but does not have the story related by the speaker. Furthermore, as well as those used in the examples on page 144, there are many other verbs that involve speaking and telling that also combine with this preposition, including *ask*, *brag*, *chat*, *debate*, *enthuse*, *fume*, *grumble*...and so on through the alphabet. The list seems endless, and the pattern is very much systematic, with only very

occasional exceptional cases like *discuss*. We can thus devise the following to demonstrate the role of *about* in these types of processes.



Although it is possible to see the relationship between these types of verbs without adopting the terminology of functional grammar, it is my belief that its use can help illuminate innovations in ELF. The finer-tuned descriptions made possible by the detailed subdivisions of subjects and verbs in functional grammar, enable us to identify similarities in grammatical patterns and semantic properties much more readily than if we simply make use of conventional terminology.

There is thus a strong sense that the innovation *discuss about* is a reordering of the system, needed in order to smooth over an unwanted crease in the existing pattern. Aitchison (2001) observes that language change often operates in this way, stating that there are areas of the linguistic systems where, due to exceptions and irregularities, change is predisposed to occur. There is also some evidence in ENL to suggest a predilection for change with this same feature. Below are the search results for *discuss about* conducted with the full 100 million word written and spoken BNC data.

G4V 525 you can talk about some of your results in here and we'll discuss about anything that's gonna be problems we'll discuss how you're can write it up and how you want to display the statistics if

J54 843 We have a lot to discuss about the redecorations

INB 470 Men, men, mentioned here by our friend, that Leicestershire has got no business to discuss about fox hunting...

JXS 3038 What do you want to discuss about her?
(From the BNC website, <http://www.natcorp.ox.ac.uk>, accessed on 4/08/06.
Reference numbers in original)

Two of these can be disregarded because *about* is not used here to make reference to the target of the verbal process *discuss*. In 843 and 470 the preposition does not relate to the direct objects of the verb, *a lot* and *business* respectively, referring instead to additional complement elements in the clause. The remaining two are however comparable to the uses

of *discuss about* that are found in my data. The occurrence of the phenomenon in the ENL data provides additional evidence that there is a certain predisposition for this particular linguistic resource to be used innovatively in this way. It is also striking that the feature is relatively infrequent in the BNC data when compared to the current ELF data. Any potential changes that are inherently predisposed to occur in a particular direction are likely to be accelerated in ELF settings. This is due in part to the increased use of the language that lingua franca communication involves, as well as due in part to the absence in ELF settings of clearly defined sets of norms that would otherwise slow down the process of change. It seems far more probable that prescriptive comment on language use, and attempts to restrict language variation, practices which Deborah Cameron (1995) describes as ‘verbal hygiene’ will take place in ENL than in ELF.

In addition to grammatical shift and resulting reorganization of the system to even out some of the irregularities, there is also a semantic motive for many cases of innovative preposition use. As discussed above in chapter 4 (see figure 4.6 for a detailed presentations of the findings), the preposition *about* can often be described as conveying the sense of ‘topic’ or ‘theme’. This certainly seems to be the case in the following examples, all of which occur in the current ELF data.

Figure 5.1: Semantic value of *about*

<i>About</i> = topic
it's very small country... so we have big <u>problem about rubbish</u> / er i <u>study about</u> computer in korea... / we have the <u>solution about</u> this pollution / ...something <u>concerning about</u> the... / what shall we <u>discuss about</u> ?

The use of *about* in each of the above utterances is different from the customary L1 English pattern, but similar to other uses of the preposition in that it has been assigned a semantic value enabling it to express the topic or nature of a referent. For instance the *problem* in the first example is related to, or *about*, rubbish, while in the second one, the preposition is used to refer to the subject being studied in university, and so on. There are other similar cases where innovative patterns in preposition use appear to be the result of a process of semantic addition. There is some evidence in my data that strongly suggests this is the case with the use of the preposition *back*. Below is a concordance with *back* as the search word, which is

organized according to the word immediately to the left of *back* to highlight which verbs collocate with the preposition. Line 20 has been deleted as the search word is in this case the verb *back* meaning 'give support'.

Concordance

1 night they have to go home and come back @@@@ oh god = @@ the other
 2 in London and...and I want to come back to Brazil to get a better job
 3 plans? Yeah I'm planning to come back to Brazil - to go back to Brazil and
 4 they are working they still have to come back and cook dinner hmm that's not
 5 improve my English. Or erm... to come back to France with the FCE. I hope so
 6 beginning of july hmm I'd like to come back to france and...with the FCE...why
 7 be more easy if I want to come to come back to Paris and erm [obviously] I think
 8 and friends and after... that I want come back London and...I'd like to study more
 9 study more English hmm. To to come back here? yes yes... and you? What's
 10 and then I'm erm...I'm...I will come back to my university and then after 2
 11 your future plan? erm *I'm going to... go back to Italy in er June yes and er... here
 12 hmm um no - in - after exam then to go back Japan and see my family and
 13 planning to come back to Brazil - to go back to Brazil and to find a job there... I
 14 I left Brazil and... I hope to come - to go back to Brazil and then find a better job
 15 future plans? erm... when I when I go back to Japan I think I'm - I will apply for
 16 about you? I think er...when I go back to home and I blew my nose and I
 17 because I used to OWN a gym back home so (,) oh really? I was a
 18 income is yeah? yeah (.) it's: i mean back home in iran it's not like here ok so
 19 she lives in MADrid ah AAH she's back at that time so just er yeah that's
 20 ~~country should backed - or should back - or these these countries - hm, yes~~
 21 tape recorder in the middle and you sit back and you: throw out a question and
 22 @ @@@@ ah ok @@@@ i'm thinking back in saudi yeah you wouldn't have
 23 plans...hmm...I'm going to...I'm going to back Korea... next January hmm and
 24 a year mm and er this summer i went back to korea so when i met my friend
 25 in this country apart from four years back but you don't cook in you been- ah

In ENL, selecting between *go back* and *come back* depends on the direction of travel in relation to the speaker's location when the utterance is spoken. Thus, *go back* is used to refer to a situation where the speaker returns to a place away from 'here', while *come back* refers to movement towards 'here'. In the ELF data, however, the distinction between the two collocations seems to be lost. In many of the above cases of *come back* reference is made to a return to a place away from the speaker's actual location, as in line 2 'come back to Brazil',

line 5 ‘come back to France’ and in line 10 ‘come back to my university’. The context of these examples has been studied in detail, and in each case it is clear that the speaker is making reference to a location away from the place in which the conversation occurs, and would therefore in ENL be expressed by *go back*. In ELF the loss of distinction in terms of orientation towards or away from ‘here’ suggests that the preposition has more significance than the verb in conveying the intended meaning. There is a free variation between *come* and *go*, with both being employed to a certain extent interchangeably, and the semantic value of ‘return’ being assigned more to the preposition than the verb. The following extract, in which several of the above concordance examples occur, is particularly revealing.

Figure 5.2: Semantic value of *back*

N: ok: interesting (.) erm (,) what’s your future plans? Y: future plans (.) hmm (,) i’m going to: i’m going to back korea (,) next january N: hmm Y: and then i’m erm (,) i’m (,) i will come back to my university and then after two years (,) after two years i will graduate (,) maybe I might be graduate @@ university N: aah Y: and I want to study more abroad in london or in america	T2 Line 92 Nathalie L1 French Yoori L1 Korean
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In the conversation Yoori makes use of both *go back* and *come back* to refer to returning home and resuming her university studies in Korea. In the above extract she also uses *back* without a main verb, and says ‘I’m going to back Korea’, where the preposition occurs in the slot the verb would normally occupy, thus conveying the meaning of the utterance. This seems thus a good example of the process of semantic addition, where a closed class word, of the kind more normally restricted to performing a grammatical function, appears here to have been assigned a distinct semantic value. Although this particular case is untypical in the data and is not attested anywhere else in the corpus, it is nonetheless quite telling. It illustrates particularly well the potential for the preposition to carry this meaning, demonstrating also how the linguistic resources of English can be redeployed in such a way that the grammar and semantics of an item can be transformed

5.3.2 Collocation

The nature of ELF settings means that there are fewer forces of standardization acting on the language, with therefore greater flexibility and freedom for variability and change. Among other areas of the lexicogrammar, this is likely to have an effect on the distributions of high frequency words, particularly those with a high level of semantic generality. In chapter 4 (see page 120) the statistics for the five most frequent of these types of verb were compared across the current data and the demographic component of BNCB. The verbs studied were *have*, *do*, *get*, *make* and *take*, and although in terms of relative frequency for each one, both corpora showed similar trends, there was again a significant qualitative difference in their distribution in the ENL and ELF data. The innovations in the way these verbs collocate in the ELF corpus seem largely to be semantically motivated. In figure 4.9 for example (see chapter 4, page 121), in the novel verb-noun collocations with *take* the verb appears to display many of its customary semantic properties. For instance in *take an interview* or *take a disadvantage*, both of which occur in the corpus but not in ENL data, the semantics of the collocation are arguably closer to *take* than they are to the preferred ENL collocating verb *have*. There is some evidence to suggest then that, contrary to current patterns of use in ENL regarding the increased importance of delexicalised verbs (see e.g. Lewis 1997), in ELF interaction the current trend is for verbs of high generality to be assigned an enhanced semantic value.

There does also seem to be a certain degree of inherent instability in this area of the lexicogrammar of English. A closer look at the verbs, *make* and *do*, for example in ENL corpus data reveals some interesting findings in this respect. Swan (1995) for instance describes the key differences between *make* and *do*, commenting in addition that second language learners often ‘confuse’ the two verbs. One key distinction is in the use of *do* to refer to activities related to work, as in *do a job*, *do homework*, *do tasks*, *do exercises*, whereas *make* is often used to refer to constructing, building, creating and so on, as in *make a cake*, *make a plan*, *make a diagram*. If we consider the following concordance results however, the situation regarding this distinction seems far from clear-cut.

Concordance

- 1 the cat out of the bag there didn't you? Do a pudding or we could do erm
 2 Every watch that comes on has to do a drill. Yeah, cos then I didn't actually
 3 You've got so much stuff in there Let's do a chocolate one today and I think
 4 not er all easy. And, and if you're gonna do burgers we'll do proper burgers, you
 5 chips and and fish No. I mean I like, if I do fish usually I, I do it myself. Yeah well
 6 American stuff. Yeah, you do, yeah. Do kebabs and everything. Yeah. We've
 7 Well. Hello, hiya,. Don't do phone calls. made your. International
 8 and if you're gonna do burgers we'll do proper burgers, you know not. But
 9 innit? Pancake day Er, oh is it? I shall do some pancakes this year, cos the
 10 I don't know whether y should do some questions. Well you'll have to
 11 Was that your saying? We can do some chocolate ones. If when you
 12 into it? No, the, the layout plans, do, do some layout plans. Oh yeah sure.
 13 can't you have dozed? Yeah So if I do some potatoes Yes, thank you mm,
 14 know not. But you can do like, you can do vegetarian burgers and all sorts. So

These have all been extracted from the concordance for *do* created from the demographic component of BNCE. Although these represent only a small minority of the total 7,240 tokens for the word *do*, they are significant enough in number to be noticeable in the data. Each of the above has been selected from the concordance for its apparent contradiction of the usual ENL pattern. According to descriptions provided in pedagogic grammars, in each of the above cases the preferred collocation would be *make* rather than *do*, since in each case there is an element of creativity involved, an end product or result such as *burgers*, *kebabs*, *plans*, and so on. Although Swan does make the point that occasionally *do* may be used in place of *make* in certain circumstances to downplay the creativity of an activity, this seems hardly to be the case in each of the above examples. There is then an element of variation in how the two words are used, both in terms of their apparent semantics as described in pedagogic grammars, and in terms of many of the common fixed expressions. One such example is included in the above concordance sample, where *do phone calls* is used in place of the more established ENL fixed expression *make a phone call* (see Swan 1995: 163). An important point to mention here, and one that will be taken up further in chapter 8, is that in ENL the above uses of *do* are generally regarded as interesting variations, while in ELT any such variation is automatically associated with error.

It also seems to be the case that many of the other characteristic features to be found in the ELF data result in the emergence of innovative collocations and fixed expressions. In the discussion of the article system in chapter 4 for example it was noted that the word *same* in the ELF data was often used with the zero article and not, as in the case of ENL norms, with the definite article. This results in the emergence of a novel collocation *same as*, which occurs so often in the corpus without the definite article (virtually exclusively so in the current data) that it appears to be allocated the status of a fixed expression among ELF speakers. There are a number of other similar candidates for the category *emergent collocation* to be found in the data, as attested for instance in the following examples.

Figure 5.3: Emergent Collocations

Item	Example	Source
<i>enter in</i>	Y: and then i will try to take test to <u>enter in</u> small business	T2, Line 101
	L: how do the people kill the the the the <u>serious criminals</u> in your country	T24, Line 371
	L: there are a lot of (,) thousands you know <u>severe criminal</u> <u>- criminals</u>	T24, Line 487
<i>most of</i>	N: ... i like er to to take advantage of of visiting <u>most of</u> <u>museum</u> in london and er going for	T5, Line 31
	K: some people like mathematics but <u>most of people</u> ah (,) quite hate it	T16, Line 48
	L: and one of my my friends, she was working in japan now (,) and she told me <u>most of</u> japanese people are really kind and are really you know friendly	T24, Line 180
<i>lot of</i>	K: <u>and this is lot of pollution</u>	T1, Part 2, Line 5
	K: ... and also <u>there are lot of nationalities</u>	T7, Line 43
	Ky ... go to the park there are <u>lot of</u> conjurer or snake or @@@ something like that.	T9, Part 2, Line 53
	S: ... <u>lots of</u> japanese invaded china and <u>lot of</u> japanese killed chinese people	T24, Line 19
	T: but i think erm in china <u>there are lot of hmm... crime</u>	T24, Line 522
	T: because er in tokyo hm <u>there are: lot of cars</u> around	T26, Line 189
	A: ... you can (,) do <u>lot of things</u> (,) it's a very big city	T8, Line 21

What's	N:	... <u>what's your future plans?</u>	T2, Line 92
	Ch:	... <u>what's - are you doing hmm in your free time?</u>	T5, Line 22
	N:	... <u>what's your feelings</u> about london?	Line 42
	N:	ok no doesn't matter (.) don't worry (.) oh (,) <u>what's your future plans?</u>	Line 77
	A:	hmm (..) <u>what's your feelings about speaking english?</u>	T8, Line 28
	N:	... probably non native speaker (,) native speaker should know or will need to know <u>what's the differences</u> between english and international English	T29, Line 240

These samples show some of the many novel collocations and formulaic chunks that occur in the data. The first of these entails the combination of a verb, *enter* with the preposition *in*, and may be regarded as a further case where the meaning is reinforced. The following two cases seem to be an extension of the collocations ‘serious crime’ and ‘severe crime’, with the adjectives here being used in conjunction with the noun *criminal*, denoting the person. The remaining cases all appear to be similar in nature: *most of*, *lot of*, and *what's* seem to behaving very much as fixed chunks. L1 English for instance would distinguish between either ‘most people’ for general reference and ‘most of the people’ where the referent is more restricted, whereas in the above cases this distinction is not made. Similarly, *lot of* is used without the indefinite article, whose use in a number of these examples would, according to the established L1 pattern, seem entirely arbitrary since the referent is plural. In one of the examples, there is also the co-existence of the standard L1 form and the innovative form, with both variants in competition with each other as is common during periods of language change. The phrase *what's* often appears as a fixed chunk in the data, and in much the same way as *there's*, as attested in spoken ENL corpora, the form tends not to be altered to distinguish between a plural and singular referent. The example of *what's* in T5, line 25 (see above) lends further support to the idea that these occurrences are systematic and not random, as the speaker then monitors what she says, reanalyzing the chunk into its component parts. Instead of using the phrase *what's*, the speaker opts to use the plural verb form *are*, because the prefabricated phrase would not here fit in with the following syntax as the utterance contains the present progressive form. There is extensive evidence in the data

that some of the innovative features occur as prefabricated items, functioning more as fixed expressions than examples of utterances generated by rule-based composition.

5.4 Grammatical shift and added Prominence

5.4.1 Articles

As discussed at length in chapter 4, the frequency of articles is very similar in the current ELF corpus to the frequencies reported in ENL corpora. The following table shows the overall frequency scores and percentages for definite and indefinite articles for the demographic component of BNCB and my own corpus.

Table 5.1: Distribution of articles in ENL and ELF corpora

BNCB – Demographic component		ELF Corpus	
<i>The</i>	27, 552 2.91%	<i>The</i>	1,401 2.71%
<i>A</i>	19, 503 2.06%	<i>A</i>	785 1.52%
<i>An</i>	1,290 0.14%	<i>An</i>	73 0.14%

In the demographic component of BNCB and the ELF corpus, definite and indefinite articles account for approximately 5% of all texts in both corpora. In addition, the definite and indefinite articles occupy very similar positions when the word list for each corpus is ranked according to frequency. Where there is a significant difference in the quantities reported from both corpora this is with the indefinite article rather than the definite article, suggesting that the indefinite article is especially prone to being replaced with the zero article in ELF. As the above table shows the percentages for definite articles are very close, some 2.91% for the demographic component of BNCB, and 2.71% for the ELF data. In contrast, there is a much more marked difference in the comparative frequency of indefinite articles, which in the ELF data account for only 1.66% (the combined totals for *a* and *an*) of the texts. This compares with a total frequency percentage of 2.20% for the BNCB data.

This pattern of difference is indicative of a general trend that seems to be emerging in the way articles are being employed in ELF. Although there seems to be little quantitative

difference between definite articles across the two corpora, qualitatively their relative distributions indicate salient variations in usage. This might also help to explain why there is a slightly more noticeable quantitative difference in the use of the indefinite article in the two corpora. If we examine closely a number of interactions where the use of articles in the ELF data appears to be markedly different from typical patterns of use in ENL, then it is clear that the function of definite articles in ELF is undergoing a process of change. Semantically *the* often has a value which is very different from that found in L1 patterns of use. As discussed in chapter 4, in many of the cases of definite article use, *the* appears in contexts where the ENL norms would require the zero article, and vice versa. For example we have seen how *the* is often used in ELF for general reference, either with uncountable and abstract nouns, or with plural countable nouns. In the following extract, taken from transcription T25, the participants are discussing whether it is better for children to grow up in a big city or in the countryside.

T25 Li L1 Mandarin
 Eun Ju L1 Korean
 Shiho L1 Japanese

L: i always go to the countryside because there is
 some my relative (.) so:

E: yeah

S: hmm

E: yeah (,) you are very very good- you are very
 lucky because you er (.) but the people who live in the
 city they don't know (,) the children just play the
 computer game

S: yeah (..) no (,) no

E: they don't know how to make friends

S: yeah (,) they forgot their nature

E: yeah

T25

Line 177: *the children*

plural referent for generic
 reference with definite article

In line 177 of this interaction Eun Ju says 'the children', making use of a definite article with a plural referent when it is clear from the context that reference is being made not to a specific group of children but rather to children in general terms. Similarly, later in the same conversation, one of the speakers uses the definite article with two abstract nouns where

reference is generic. In line 280 Shiho says *the nature* and *the society*, opting to use the definite article with an uncountable noun *nature* and an abstract noun *society*.

S: because they they know how to play (,) they
know how to survive in the nature or in the society (,)
instinct- un- unconsciously because they're children
E: yeah (,) they are very (xxx)
S: flexible
E: yeah (,) they can catch up with the person who
are edu- well educated in the city i think (,) they can
catch up with them

T 25

Line 280: *the nature* and *the society* –
definite article used for general
reference with uncountable
and/or abstract nouns

The two extracts quoted above both contain linguistic contexts where ENL speakers would be much more likely to make use of a zero article. Conversely, there are also many cases where in ELF a speaker elects to use zero articles in contexts where the preferred ENL pattern would involve use of the definite article. This, again as discussed at some length in chapter 4, is often the case where an ENL norm for definite article use involves a degree of idiomaticity and/or a degree of redundancy.

In relation to the use in the corpus of definite articles in contexts where ENL norms require the zero article, one likely hypothesis is that the underlying motive in these cases often relates to the relative importance attached to the noun it determines. Where abstract and plural nouns occur with the definite article and the reference is generic, in a number of cases the 'keyness' of the word in question seems to have an effect on article selection. This becomes apparent if we take a closer look at some of the examples of abstract nouns that are used with a definite article in the data. A concordance conducted on the entire corpus with *the* as the search word shows that there are a number of abstract nouns preceded by the definite article, including words such as *abortion*, *euthanasia*, *nature*, *pollution* and so on where the reference is general. If we then investigate further the contexts in which these cases occur, this reveals quite compelling data regarding the function of the article. The following concordance for example lists all of the occurrences of the search word *abortion* that are found in one conversation, transcription T27.

Concordance

- 1 video? some doc - documentary about abortion hm hmm hmm yeah and... it
- 2 yes and... and you know if you have an abortion, in the future you, you might not
- 3 it's an immoral yes immoral because er abortion means anyway they kill a baby
- 4 no no no, I mean - er you mean that abortion is immoral and we shouldn't kill
- 5 which one is first? ... the abortion? eh yes? ... what do you think,
- 6 - the reason that I er I'm against the abortion... when I was at school mhm I
- 7 very hard for the government. If er the abortion is not permitted and they will
- 8 abortion? eh yes? ... what do you think, abortion is an immoral act or not? hmm,

In three out of the eight cases the word is used with the definite article, and in each case the context clearly shows that the speaker is making reference to the concept in general terms rather than a particular case of abortion. It is also significant that using the KeyWords tool in Oxford WordSmith reveals that *abortion* is a key word in this conversation. That it is, the word is relatively important in the text to the extent that it characterizes the conversation to some degree. To assess a text for key words the software compares two word lists, one created for the text in question, and one larger word list, which serves as a reference file. The reference file in this case was the ELF corpus as a whole, which was thus compared with T27 in order to show which words were characteristic of this conversation. The KeyWord tool shows that there are four key words in T27, with *abortion* placed third. A closer look at the occurrence of *the euthanasia* in transcription T25, as presented below, reveals similar findings with regard to key words and article use.

S:	it's a big problem	T25
E:	yeah (,) it's a big problem because we can't	Line 358 - 367
	know their opinion (,) they want to live or not	
S:	hmm	
E:	the euthanasia (,) if the par- if the patient want	
	to die	
S:	hmm	
E:	at that time the doctor can injection	
S:	yeah	

Here the speaker has elected to use the definite article with the abstract noun *euthanasia*. As with the case of *abortion* above, this conversation was subjected to a KeyWord test, again using the whole of the ELF corpus as the reference file to provide the baseline data for

comparison. The programme reveals that *euthanasia* is indeed a key word in this conversation, occurring in second place in a list of thirteen key words, others among which included *baby*, *immoral*, *abortion* and *children*. If a word is especially characteristic of the discourse it seems that there is an increased likelihood for the definite article to be used with this particular function.⁴

There is thus an innovative pattern of usage emerging in much of the data, and one that involves a shift in the system away from a distinction between specific and generic reference. A more significant factor determining whether the zero or definite article is the preferred option involves the relative level of importance attached to a noun or noun phrase in a given stretch of discourse. If an item is deemed to be of particular importance it will often be preceded by the definite article, while if the item is relatively unimportant it will often more likely be used with the zero article. Therefore, a primary function of the definite article seems to be to provide additional emphasis to a noun and thus signify its increased importance relative to the discourse. This suggests quite strongly that, in ELF, patterns of use regarding the article system are far more context dependent and meaning driven than they are in ENL. In particular, the formal rules handed down through idiomatic use in ENL have little or no value in lingua franca settings. It is simply not the case in ELF that the selection of an article will depend on the nature of a noun in terms of any inherent qualities it may hold, such as level of specificity, uniqueness and so on. The type of questions suggested by Yule (1998) as important when a speaker selects an article cannot be answered in general terms – these issues are only resolved in ELF settings by assessing the relevance and importance of an item within the stretch of discourse in which it occurs.

There are also several other cases where the evidence points to the use of the definite article to give emphasis. In the following extract the speaker seems to have made use of ellipsis with the superlative marker *most*, opting to combine *the* directly with the adjective *powerful*.

L: even your country (.) or my country (.) will	T23
become (.) will become the powerful er country in	Line 374
the world	

⁴ This is not necessarily always the case however, and there are in fact other incidents where plural nouns, and uncountable or abstract nouns are used with the definite article and for general reference for words which are not key. Nevertheless, the extent to which a word is considered key or important to the dialogue seems to have a significant bearing on article selection.

The speaker of this utterance is from China, and his interlocutor is Korean. The conversation centred around a discussion of the United States and the increased unilateralism of G. W. Bush in the run up to the invasion of Iraq. The speaker is here referring to the possibility of the United States being replaced as the world's only superpower, and being overtaken in terms of geopolitical influence by China. The word *most* can be omitted here as it is largely not needed. Instead, *the* fulfils the role of the superlative word, acting in this particular case as the only means necessary to identify the unique nature of the referent.

These innovative cases are entirely in line with a number of other uses of *the*, as it often conveys semantic prominence. In existing ENL patterns of use the definite article can also be employed to give additional or special emphasis. One of the functions of the article is to signal that a referent is somehow unique and thus different from all other cases, as is the case for example in phrases such as *the one and only*, *the be all and end all*, as well as with superlatives, as in *the best*, *the most* and so on. In addition, the definite article can also be used to express the view that one particular referent is superior to all others, as in phrases such as *the place*, *the person*, etc where stressing the definite article acts as a way of describing the referent as the best of its kind. The point here though is that yet again in ELF settings a linguistic resource is being exploited for one of its functions in a more productive manner than is customary in ENL. This relates closely to what Aitchison (2001) describes as language being predisposed to change in certain ways, a predisposition which seems often to be enhanced during ELF interaction. It is as if certain areas of the language are well suited to perform particular types of function, and that with the added freedom for variation and change that lingua franca communication provides, these functions are able to be fully explored and often expanded to their full potential.

Therefore, we can draw on this as yet further evidence to suggest that the use of definite article *the* does perform a particular function in ELF discourse. Although there are many instances where *the* does not appear in the data, but would be required in ENL norms, there are a similar number of occasions where the zero article of ENL is replaced in ELF by the definite article. The definite article is not simply omitted, rather it is being employed differently, and with some variations in the functions it performs. There is also a significant degree of both intraspeaker and interspeaker variation with regard to article use in ELF. Unlike ENL varieties it appears very much to be the case in ELF settings an individual

speaker will vary between zero and definite article for the same noun or noun phrase depending on its importance or current relevance in the discourse. In addition, speakers vary their article use in relation to the identity and relationship they have with their interlocutors, with accommodation playing a significant role in the distribution of articles in ELF communication. Accommodation is discussed at length below in 5.7, as it appears to underpin a good deal of the variation in the lexicogrammtical systems of the language as these are being employed for lingua franca communication.

5.4.2 Word Order (*Adverbials*)

Adverb and adverbial phrase placement is undoubtedly a very complex area of syntax in L1 English, and therefore one of the aspects of lexicogrammar perhaps most likely to be susceptible to variation and change in ELF. This is also especially likely given that ENL tends to have a relatively fixed word order when contrasted with many other languages. In analyzing clause structure, Quirk *et al* (1985) observe varying degrees of centrality among the different elements of a clause – the subject (S), verb (V), object (O), complement (C), and adverbial (A). Of these the verb element is the most central, the adverbial the most peripheral. This classification is significant in that the extent to which an element is central or peripheral will determine its degree of mobility. That is, the more central an element is the more restrictions there are governing its position within a clause; so while the word orders of the subject and verb are relatively fixed, the more peripheral adverbial is far more mobile. An adverbial can, of course, occur in initial (before the subject), mid (between subject and verb), and final positions (after the verb, or after the object and complement when these are present), which in Quirk *et al* is illustrated as, (A) S (A) V (O) (O) (C) (A...), where brackets represent an optional element.

This analysis of centrality can be applied also to different sub-categories of the same element, further complicating patterns of distribution since there are relatively central and relatively peripheral types of adverbial. While most adverbials are peripheral and therefore mobile and optional, there are certain adverbials whose position is more fixed, and also others which are not optional at all, but vital to the clause. The following may be considered examples of the latter, since the adverbial in each case conveys essential information, and therefore have far less mobility in the clause.

I have been *in the library* since lunch
 You must put all the toys *upstairs* immediately

Clearly then this is an area of some complexity, further compounded by the fact that a clause may contain multiple numbers of adverbial elements, with more than one occurring together for example in final position. In such cases there is a further question to resolve: what will determine the relative positions of the two or more separate elements?

Some adverbials have an obligatory status, as is the case in the above examples. They perform the same function as a complement, and are often categorized as such since they are essential to the proposition being expressed. They include adverbials indicating position, e.g. *at home* (as in 'I stayed at home' [SVA]), those indicating direction, e.g. *down* (as in 'she put the book down' [SVOA]), and those that indicate temporality, e.g. *on Monday* (as in 'the meeting is on Monday' [SVA]). Quirk *et al* point out that all of these share a similar sense of location, observing however that there are occurrences of an obligatory adverbial to which this sense cannot be applied, for example the adverb of manner *kindly*, as in 'she treated me kindly'.

Regarding the L1 norms of use Quirk *et al* then go on to present the full (and overwhelming) range of possible adverbial positions. These possibilities for adverb placement are illustrated in the following examples, though of course only relatively few adverbials would be permitted in all positions in ENL.

- I. *By then* the book must have been placed on the shelf.
- II. The book *by then* must have been placed on the shelf.
- III. The book must *by then* have been placed on the shelf.
- IV. The book must have *by then* been placed on the shelf.
- V. The book must have been *by then* placed on the shelf.
- VI. The book must have been placed *by then* on the shelf.
- VII. The book must have been placed on the shelf *by then*.

(Quirk *et al* 1985: 490)

So, an adverbial can occur in initial position (as in I above); in up to four medial positions - i.e. after subject and in front of all verb elements (II), between a modal and second auxiliary (III), between second and third auxiliaries (IV), and between final auxiliary and main verb (V); and in two final positions, either between the verb and its object or complement (VI), or

after both the verb and object (VII). The choice of position can, but does not necessarily, make a significant difference to the meaning of the sentence. The issue is further complicated where two different adverbial elements can occupy a single position in the same clause – in such cases the rules or patterns of behaviour concerning the ordering of these elements are very complex, and can only be determined by a particular context. The following table, however, attempts to provide an overview of the main word order tendencies in ENL (cf. Quirk *et al*, sections 8.14-8.23 for positional norms and adverbs).

Table 5.2: Word order patterns in ENL

Features Position	Form	Function	Semantic value	Restrictions
Initial	Predominantly prepositional phrases	Most often to provide the theme or give background information	Very frequently with a connection to time	Adverbs of frequency are uncommon and not usually permitted here
Medial	Tend to be short adverb and prepositional phrases. Clauses and longer phrase are uncommon here except for special effect.	To focus and intensify subjuncts, or otherwise used quite freely	Especially associated with modality and degree	There are very few cases where position II above is possible. Most often the adverbial must come after the first auxiliary e.g. *he suddenly has finished. In negative sentences there are often greater restrictions – e.g ‘they can probably...’ and ‘they probably can...’ but not ‘they can’t probably...’ NB Adverbs of degree and manner tend to be restricted to a position immediately in front of the main verb – where these do occur before an auxiliary this can affect meaning.
End	Used especially for clauses and prepositional phrases	The position of obligatory adjuncts	A common position for most adverbials, though adverbs expressing modality are not	It is very common for several adverbials to occupy the end position in a single clause. The order of these adverbs relative to each other is very significant, and a factor which will often affect

			usually found here	the interpretation of the sentence.
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It is also observed in Quirk *et al* that, while semantic and grammatical roles can have a significant bearing on the position of adverbials within a clause, the vast majority of adverbs occur at the end of a clause. To provide an extensive account of all the norms regarding the syntactical patterns of adverbials in ENL would require far more space than is available here. The above table is therefore intended only as a general observation of some of the more central tendencies described in the more established and comprehensive grammars.

These patterns can be contrasted with those that seem to be emerging in ELF. There are widely attested cases in my data where the ENL norms regarding adverbial position appear to be largely disregarded. The following table is an attempt to categorize some of the more representative patterns of adverbial placement in the current data.

Table 5.3: The position of adverbials in ELF (see also figure 4.12, p.127)

<i>Pattern</i>	<i>Comments</i>	<i>Examples</i>	<i>Sample</i>
Mid position adverbial used in initial position	This is probably the most frequent example to be found in the data. There are numerous occurrences in particular where an adverb of frequency is being used in front of the subject. This is also widely attested with cases of adverbs of 'also'	<u>also it was</u> sometimes difficult to understand for example briefing or meeting between crew members <u>usually i go to the cinema</u> with my friends yeah yeah, and er <u>also i like tea</u> and <u>also i like here</u> because it's near europe	T6 (Line 13) T7 (Line 49) As above (Line 56) T8 (Line 26)
End position adverbial used between a verb and its object or complement	A number of multi word adverbials that according to L1 norms occur only in end positions after all the obligatory elements, seem to occur elsewhere quite frequently in the data.	<u>i like very much playing golf</u>	T6 (Line 22)
Variable position adverbial between a verb and its	In L1 English a main verb is not separated from its object or complement by an adverbial, but is another common occurrence in the data	i used to <u>go out often with my friends</u> i can't stand generally spi – spider?	T6 (Line 33) As above (Part 2 Line 5)

object or complement	<p>In this particular example the adverbial is used directly after a copula verb and would only be possible in L1 English if it were functioning as a complement</p> <p>Adverb of degree</p>	<p>it it should <u>be er also</u> a bit dangerous i think</p> <p>but... actually i can't remember <u>exactly the feeling</u></p>	<p>As above (Line 52)</p> <p>T7 (Part 2 Line 40)</p>
Adverbial used between subject and first auxiliary or modal	<p>From the context it is clear that the speaker uses 'also' to refer to the idea of going to university in the UK in addition to other events, rather than referring to 'I' in addition to another subject</p>	<p>and <u>i also would like to go</u> to a university here</p>	<p>T8 (Line 16)</p>

The above examples demonstrate a number of discernible patterns, the most productive of which seems to be the first one where an ENL mid-position adverb is used in initial position in ELF, directly before the subject. This occurs frequently with some items in particular, as evidenced by the number of cases above where *also* precedes the subject. Although beyond the scope of this thesis, it will be interesting to investigate in further studies whether there is any semantic relevance involved in the patterns of behaviour or whether the form, or internal structure, of an adverbial will have any bearing on its position within the clause. It may prove to be the case in other words that we can identify tendencies in word order patterns according to whether the adverbial element is an adverb phrase, noun phrase or prepositional phrases. It certainly seems to be the case that in some areas word order in ELF is more flexible than that found in ENL.

In terms of explaining the causes of the differences in the placement of adverbials syntactically, there seem to be at least two important aspects to consider. Firstly, as we have seen, the ENL patterns are relatively complex, where norms of use are often difficult to account for. There seems to be little reason why in standard L1 Englishes, certain adverbs of frequency are usually not permitted in sentence initial position. There is a definite arbitrariness in some of the L1 patterns, and it seems entirely arbitrary for instance that *often* and *sometimes* can precede a subject, as would be the case in 'sometimes I take the bus', but *always* does not. In ELF, with the absence of normative pressures, the arbitrary nature of these distinctions becomes entirely meaningless, and is therefore lost. A further reason for

the increased incidence of initial position adverbials might be the potential this type of placement has for providing emphasis, as illustrated in the following concordance sample.

Concordance

25 acceptable or not and erm (,) also i want to know if there ANY
 26 to no i don't think so i agree with you (,) also i don't know whether i can trust you
 27 to be computer programmer ah and also I want to use English with another
 28 really accept these (,) VArieties and also i want to know that their attitudes
 29 like I like traveling around the world and also I like... hmm how do you say? I like
 30 so maybe, and er also teacher, teacher also I think may be I think upset yeah
 31 maybe not but... could be yeah. Er also I like to... to improve my English
 32 hmm... London is a great place. And also I like here because it's near Europe
 33 keep fit yeah. Ah and er... erm. and also I can make my clo - all my clothes
 34 cafes in London ah. yeah yeah, and er also I like tea so I want to - I tea shop
 35 I like chatting with my friends... and also I like going to see gigs...and...er
 36 hmm if I have nice weather yeah and also I... I want to - er I went to go abroad
 37 many countries around Europe hm hm also I think that Germany... and the
 38 and have a tea and coffee and... yeah also I like chatting with my friends... and
 39 computer programmer... aah...aah and also if I use computer program er I need
 40 we need English for travelling Yeah. Also if I have part time job in Korea
 41 unfair yeah it's, it's... but the problem is also if the child is in school and I think
 42 yeah yeah but it's illegal in Japan yeah also ill - illegal in China ah [yeah my my
 43 test their advice giving strategies (,) and also i'm planning to make a persian
 44 to do it again hmm and erm erm... also I'm... I'm - if if... how can I say? I I
 45 each one of them and then erm i'm also i'm erm going to erm WRITE a bit

This is a sample of a concordance for *also* produced from the ELF data using WordSmith. My corpus contains 93 incidents of the word, many of which occur directly before the subject of a clause. In the sample, *also I...* occurs 14 times, and *also I'm...* 3 times. In addition, but not represented here, there are other subjects that follow this adverb, including *also it*, *also there*, *also they*, *also the text* and so on. It is possible that in many of these cases the adverb is placed in initial position as a kind of fronting to emphasize the point being made.

5.5 Accommodation

In speech Accommodation theory (SAT), more latterly Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT), with its origins in social psychology (e.g. Giles & Smith 1979 and Giles &

Coupland 1991), convergence and divergence in speech was initially accounted for by affective motivations. In other words a speaker will converge towards an interlocutor as the result of a desire for social approval, and will diverge as the result of a need to maintain identity and signal own group membership. The desire to be understood has also come to be seen as a motivating factor in speech convergence (though the primary focus of work in accommodation has remained for the most part social-psychological in nature.)

This desire for mutual intelligibility represents an important feature of Jenkins' (2000) work on phonology and the identification of an EIL pronunciation core, a key component of which are processes of accommodation. As speakers converge in speech and modify their pronunciation in the direction of their interlocutor with regard to core features, this will ensure greater mutual intelligibility. It is significant that Jenkins refers to processes of accommodation on the part of both the speaker and the listener: firstly, the speaker needs to be able to adapt and thus move towards the audience of the moment; and secondly, the listener needs to converge in another sense, that is, develop a greater tolerance of difference in pronunciation and an ability to adjust expectations to accommodate the speaker. Similarly, on the lexicogrammatical level an accommodative role for both listeners and speakers is much in evidence in the current data. These I have termed receptive level convergence, and productive level convergence respectively.

5.5.1 *Receptive level convergence*

The examples shown below have all been selected from my ELF corpus. The two stretches of dialogue occur in the same interaction between an L1 Korean (Eun Ju) and L1 Japanese speaker (Shiho). This particular conversation is one among many in the data that display features of accommodative behaviour, and has been included here as the examples seem in each case to typify the processes of convergence that I have been able to identify in the corpus.

E:	they need a mother and they need a father but (.) and here they	T23
(.)	just children was	Line 56
S:	hmm	Eun Ju L1 Korean
-E:	<u>broughted up</u> by gay couple, just only two men	Shiho L1 Japanese
S:	hm, men	
E:	so i think they need a mother	(Occurs again later in the
S:	mother yeah (.) mother role yeah	same conversation
E:	i think yeah if the children were <u>broughted up</u> by the gay couple	below.)

it is easy- it is easy to become gay

- E: it's true
S: yeah but
E: and the other problem is when the children was broughted up by
gay couple went to the – er a a school
S: hm hm

These can be considered features of accommodation in that they represent an increased level of tolerance and modified expectations on the part of the listener. When interviewed after the event and shown a copy of the transcription Shiho was able to identify the non-standard 'broughted' as an error in ENL, and did so without prompting, also pointing out that during a conversation she thought she would tend not to notice this because she could understand what was being said. Therefore there seems to be a receptive convergence in operation here as the listener is accepting a non-standard form. It is significant that the erroneous form is entirely accepted, goes uncommented on during the conversation and causes no interruption in the flow of discourse. It is also significant that communication has been made more efficient by virtue of the listener having raised her tolerance levels. This is a good case of ELF speakers prioritising the communication of meaning over adherence to normative form.

There are very many cases of this kind in the data, and in none of the innovative features exemplified in chapter 4 do speakers comment on the use of these non-standard ENL forms, nor do they lead to a break down in the communication. The extent to which receptive level convergence is an important characteristic of ELF interactions is neatly illustrated in the following extract. Here the two speakers are commenting on their different experiences of using English with native speakers in London, some successful and others less so.

- N: ...@@@ yeah for example my flat mate (.) yeah even my my
english isn't always you know perfect or correct but he does understand
what i am trying to say because he tried to understand me but for example
erm (.) you know when i'm working at opera house sometimes people are
very very angry about something you know that my seat isn't great or
something like that and (.) came up to me you know complained- start
complaining or something (.) and then i try to explain everything- explain
our policy with PERFECT with correct grammar but (.) he said (.) to me
your english isn't good enough for me (.) do you know what i mean? so:
doesn't matter- not doesn't matter but-
L: (xxx)
N: i i think you know this is- i can't (.) i don't disagree you know i don't

T28
Line 133 - 161

Naoko L1 Japanese
Lucy L1 Russian

agree with-

L: i'm really surprised that there are such such people erm (.) go to:
opera house you know <1> i though i thought that ballet and the art are-
just er make people more polite and- </1>

N: <1> OH OH a lot we have a LOT because last night <1/> - last
night upstairs was hectic (xxx) i mean i shouldn't say that but ah people
upstairs are just SO rude and so so rude

L: hmm

N: well but (,) hm we can't complain

L: you need to smile

N: yeah yeah

L: @ it's part of your job isn't it (..) erm (.) english doesn't just belong
to british and american people it belongs to (xxx)

N: yeah i i agree i agree

L: erm:

N: because (.) english is not for only- english is- isn't spoken only in
british or united states (.) singapore- south west- singapore- australia- new
zealand (.) er:m (..) where else? (,) but anyway not only british and united
states

In this exchange, Naoko reports how her housemate, an L1 English speaker, is more accepting and accommodating than some of the people she meets during her job working in the Royal Opera House. While her housemate makes an effort to converge receptively, in encounters with other interlocutors she has had elsewhere this has not always been the case. And despite being a very proficient and accomplished communicator in English, she reports the above experience where a native speaker was unprepared to make sufficient effort to communicate with her. For this reason, this is one L1 English speaker who is an unaccomplished, and, here at least, a largely unsuccessful intercultural communicator. It is not the ELF speaker's non-adherence to ENL norms that makes the communication problematic, but rather the ENL speaker's inability to shift his perceptions and expectations of a conversation in English. The two speakers in the extract also seem to be in agreement that English does not just belong to British or American speakers, but that it is also a resource at the disposal of many other speakers around the world. A key condition in the way many of these speakers use the language is the degree of flexibility underpinning usage in the lexis and grammar, at both the receptive and productive levels.

5.5.2 *Productive level convergence*

There are also a good number of occasions in the data where convergence leads to a speaker reproducing a non-standard item previously uttered by the interlocutor. The two following

examples are taken from two different conversations involving Eun Ju and Shiho, and a third speaker, Li (L1 Mandarin).

Figure 5.4: Productive convergence

Data	Notes
<p>E: I think people er the other students pick them... up? ... pick them up? how can I ...? tease off</p> <p>S: yeah, hm tease off and maybe bully and...</p> <p>-----</p> <p>E: people who <u>live like a plant</u>?</p> <p>S: hm hm</p> <p>E: they can't... they can't move, they can't do</p> <p>S: yeah they can't move</p> <p>E: but in that case if the er...</p> <p>S: it's a big problem</p> <p>E: yeah, it's a big problem because we can't know their opinion, they want to live or not</p> <p>-----</p> <p>S: the person who <u>live like plant</u></p> <p>E: <u>plant yeah</u></p> <p>-----</p> <p>L: just like you said, maybe he is a plant, he's <u>just like a plant</u></p>	<p>T23 Line 225</p> <p>Eun Ju L1 Korean Shiho L1 Japanese</p> <p>T25 Line 353</p> <p>Eun Ju L1 Korean Shiho L1 Japanese Li L1 Mandarin</p> <p>NB. In the case of the first echo this is perhaps momentary because it is in such close proximity to the utterance of Eun Ju. However, the echo produced by Li occurs with a significant gap, some 50 lines of dialogue later.</p>

In the first stretch of dialogue Shiho echoes the non-standard form of her interlocutor. To establish whether or not she was aware that she had used a non-standard item in her speech, she was asked in interview to assess the following (among a number of other grouped items) and to determine which one(s) for her is/are instinctively most appropriate.

- tease someone off
- tease someone
- tease someone out

When questioned on the suitability of these items, Shiho expressed a preference for 'tease' used with no preposition, in other words opting for the ENL pattern. After this I showed the full transcription to remind her of the topic of conversation and thereby enable her to view her use of language in relation to the full context of the dialogue. On seeing 'tease off'

not in isolation but within a stretch of discourse Shiho identified this as an error, and stated that she had been unaware of this during the conversation. On reflection she also felt slight surprise that she had used this form without realizing it, and thought that she would not normally do so, adding that perhaps she was influenced by her interlocutor’s speech. There is then a degree of productive convergence operating here, that is, the speaker seems to be accommodating towards her interlocutor by echoing a form that she would not habitually use and which she can identify on reflection as inappropriate according to the established ENL norms. This is also clear evidence of how accommodation can operate below the level of consciousness, that is, it is a naturally occurring phenomenon that eases the communication and about which speakers are mostly unaware during the interaction.

The ELF corpus is replete with examples of the echoing of a non-standard form in this way. While clearly there is likely to be an element of affective motivation in many of these, the data suggest that most often convergence takes place primarily for reasons of communicative efficiency. Modifications in speech patterns of this kind (T3 in particular) on the lexicogrammatical level are made perhaps more to ensure intelligibility and ease of communication, with much echoing occurring to reinforce meaning than for any social-psychological reason. This is I believe further evidenced by the relatively high frequency of occasions where speakers and listeners overtly address the question of intelligibility, as evidenced in the examples given in the following section. We can therefore add to the definitions thus far provided for processes of convergence in communication and extend the framework of accommodation theory to include strategies for checking and signalling understanding.

5.5.3 *Negotiation of discourse*

In the cases given below, the speakers co-operate extensively with one another, checking their interlocutors’ comprehension moment by moment, paying particular attention to intelligibility where they make use of lexis they believe may be unknown.

Figure 5.5: Negotiation of discourse

L: and the policemen always use this way you know (.) they they (.) do you know er the phrasal verb crack down on?	T24 Line 540
S: ah (,) yeah yeah i know	
L: crack down on (.) means you (,) you choose a very <8> very wrong way </8>	Li L1 Mandarin Shiho L1 Japanese

<p>S: <8> strict (.) strict way </8> -L: to to treat the criminal (.) they always use this way (.) maybe er twice a year</p> <p>-----</p> <p>Se: because (,) yeah i like i like traveling around the world and also i like (,) hmm how do you say? i like ship? Ky: hmm sailing or: Se: sailing? or: Ky: cruising maybe Se: cruising yeah Ky: hmm yes (,) and er this kind of ship looks very beautiful Se: yeah (,) have a restaurant and have a- Ky: maybe pool @@</p> <p>-----</p> <p>F: developing countries should take more: responsibility for: W: <7> protection </7> J: <7> protection of the </7> environment F: protection of the environment T: protection of the environment F: hm T: hmm</p> <p>-----</p> <p>F: basically i agree with this idea but er (,) actually developing country doesn't have- er don't have enough (,) money or: T: technology J: technology F: technology or: hm economic power or hm (,) so i think because they have to concentrate on developing their own country so W: ah right</p>	
<p>T9 Line 18</p> <p>Setsuko L1 Japanese Kayo L1 Japanese</p>	
<p>T26 Line 237</p> <p>Fumitaka L1 Japanese Woong L1 Korean Jing Jing L1 Mandarin Takako L1 Japanese</p>	
<p>Line 247</p>	

In the above samples there is a good deal of convergence towards an emerging dialogue, with a number of occasions where utterances are completed by interlocutors and lexical items are provided where these are not forthcoming in the speaker. Significantly, these tend to be agreed upon and then echoed, thus demonstrating a very high degree of co-operation and co-construction at play in these particular exchanges. There is a high degree of co-operation and language support in all of the above interactions. This tends to be a significant feature in many of the ELF interactions in my corpus, a feature that is I believe illustrated particularly well in the final exchange. The initial utterance in this sequence is completed by the interlocutor, which is then followed by echoing as if to verify this is the intended

meaning. It is not uncommon for all of the participants to repeat the same word or phrase – in this case four.

The following stretch of discourse is taken from a conversation between three speakers, L1 Thai, L1 Mandarin, and L1 Korean. The exchange quoted here seems to especially typify the data with regard to the degree of negotiation and co-operation occurring in the corpus.

149	Y:	euthanasia	T27
150	P:	euthanasia should be:	
151	Ji:	yeah	Ying Ying L1 Mandarin
152	Y:	admitted by law (,) do you think so?	Pim L1 Thai
153	Ji:	hmm (,) what does that mean?	Jidham L1 Korean
154	Y:	admit (,) the law will allow to be:	
155	Ji:	oh right	
156	P:	how about nowadays?	
157	Y:	no	
158	P:	no? (,) ah	
159	Y:	maybe in some country	
160	P:	just for relative agree to:	
161	Y:	no no no (,) it's er (,) only now i think it's used only in a	
162		little (,) er a small amount of country	
163	Ji:	what do you mean small amount of?	
164	P:	<3> some countries </3>	
165	Y:	<3> some countries </3>	
166	Ji:	some country ...	
167	Y:	in some country you can do it to the patient but er	
168	P:	ah	

This exemplifies accommodation on a number of levels: firstly there is the seeking of clarity that occurs in line 163, and secondly Ying Ying's use of 'some countries' in the plural, that is, where she is momentarily using the same form uttered by Pim, and then returning to the singular 'some country' in line 167, but after Jidham has also used this form. It is open to interpretation just how aware each participant is of this kind of variation in form - a question that can only be resolved (possibly) by interviewing the speakers involved, but which in this case was not possible. The motivation for the convergence could well be affective. It is therefore perhaps an example where the modification of speech is more momentary in nature and limited to the immediate speech environment.

There is also, however, convincing evidence to suggest that convergence plays a more significant role than this in the nature of ELF discourse, one where the adjustment of speech patterns has a more lasting effect, and is therefore likely to lead to the emergence of

an innovative form. This brings us again to the notion of degrees of freedom discussed previously (see 5.3 and 5.4) in connection with grammatical shift. The data suggest that certain items of the language are more predisposed to change than others, that is, they have a higher degree of freedom and flexibility in terms of patterns of use in standard L1 English. We can therefore postulate that these items will more likely feature in processes of accommodation, though more thorough analysis of the data will be needed to firmly establish whether or not or to what extent this is the case.

It does, however, seem likely that modifications in speech patterns made to accommodate towards an interlocutor, can themselves lead to language change, and are seen in many cases to be central to language variation and language change. Indeed, as Mufwene (2001) states:

...individual speakers are critical unwitting agents of language evolution. This occurs through the day-to-day accommodations which speakers make to one another, the adjustments they make to new communicative needs, and the simple condition of imperfect replication during language transmission. Accommodation emphasizes the significance of idiolect contact within a population of speakers and the central role it plays in language change. While interacting with one another speakers contribute to a pool from which they make their selections which can affect the evolutionary trajectory of a language.”
(Mufwene 2001: p 18)

Given the importance of accommodation in lingua franca communication, Mufwene’s observation adds yet further weight to the legitimisation of ELF speakers as agents of language change. The latest direction the evolutionary trajectory of English has taken is as the result of the language being spoken as a means of wider international communication.

One final example of accommodative behaviour to discuss is given below. It is the example which perhaps best illustrates how convergence operates not towards an established norm or localized variety, but to a co-constructed lingua franca code. This process can both facilitate successful communication and lead to the emergence of new normative patterns. The following exchange occurs in a conversation between a Japanese and Brazilian speaker.

- B:

How long do you need to get there?

J:

How long?

B:

How long time do you need to get there?

J:

Ah! It takes about 12 hours.
- B = L1 Portuguese

J = L1 Japanese

It is noteworthy that the Japanese speaker was unsure of what her Brazilian interlocutor was referring to (despite the fact that their conversation revolved around the topic of world travel and in a recent turn the Brazilian student had expressed an interest in visiting Japan) when he used the more standard 'how long', but was able to clarify his meaning and repair the interruption in the flow of the conversation by making use of the less standard – and quite typical of the kind of error teachers feel 'offends the code' – 'how long time.'

This seems to provide not only evidence that there is a certain amount of accommodation in ELF, but also that this is not a question of the speaker modifying their style of speaking to converge towards the speech pattern of the listener. Rather we have a mutual convergence towards a newly emerging LF variety of English usage. In addition, this non-standard 'how long time' occurs elsewhere in the data in an entirely different setting and involving entirely different participants: 'How long time do you think is... is right for children growing up in countryside? 3 year or 4 year or 2 years?' (T25, Line 127). This I believe all suggests just how significant a role accommodation can play with regard to the emergence of innovative forms. It will certainly be an area that subsequent research in ELF should pay careful attention to. These two cases of 'how long time' lead nicely into my next topic of discussion, as they can be considered examples of increased explicitness in ELF.

5.6 Prominence, explicitness, clarity of proposition

A telling characteristic of much of the data is a use of repetition, synonymy, rephrasing, and so on, which seems to occur with significant frequency. There appears to be a widely held perception among ELF speakers that a certain amount of repetition is important for effectiveness and reliability of communication. There are many attested cases in the corpus where an element in a clause is given additional prominence, thereby providing emphasis to the intended message. Most often this seems to occur in the interest of minimizing any potential for ambiguity or vagueness, and to thus ensure the clarity of the proposition.

This phenomenon can be illustrated fairly extensively in the following transcription, where the speaker uses a number of different means to reinforce the point being made. The above extract is taken from a dissertation presentation given by the speaker as one of the requirements for the MA in ELT and Applied Linguistics at King's College London. At the end of the taught component of the MA programme participants are asked to give a 15-

minute presentation on their dissertation proposals. The presentations are primarily developmental in nature, and are intended as a discussion of work in progress, enabling participants to elaborate on their initial plans, early reading and data collection. At the end of each presentation there follows a brief comments and questions session with course colleagues and formative feedback from one of the course tutors. The speaker in this presentation is discussing her plans to investigate the attitudes of Taiwanese teachers of English towards the notion of English as an International Language (EIL).⁵ The following extract has been chosen because the features being described occur here with heightened frequency, which simply means that in a relatively brief passage a range of different features can be illustrated effectively. The underlining shows where the linguistic resources have been used to give added prominence to what is being said. Each of these cases will be dealt with in turn during the discussion that follows the transcription.

T34 Mei L1 Mandarin

- 1 M: hm today i'm going to discuss - talk about my dissertation and my topic is
- 2 something about er EIL in taiwanese context and er (,) you can look at my title erm
- 3 (,) right now actually i've got the data already the basic data about EIL and er (,) i
- 4 carry out an investigation to a group of taiwanese english in service teacher (,) and
- 5 er they are also doing their MA in linguistics and ELT as well (,) and er hh i want to
- 6 know their erm (,) w- er let me say something about @@ why i want to study at this
- 7 because erm we L2 speakers and users we usually speak english with our OWN
- 8 characteristics and er hh sometimes when i was in class it's really hard for me to
- 9 decide whether: if i do r- need to correct some errors and (,) will this really cause
- 10 communication problem? and according to kachru's three er circles model er erm
- 11 the the biggest number of english users chinese and er erm the fact in taiwan is that
- 12 english is in the national- english this subject is in the national curriculum and it's
- 13 likely taught learned and used every day and er erm according to widdowson he's
- 14 mentioned that er (,) basically the se- expanding circle where the taiwan belong to is
- 15 er- the role of english there is should be a mean of international communication (,)
- 16 so er basically this is WHY i want to study this and er: erm i- the investigation that i
- 17 carry out is that i want to know that my- the teachers the english teacher local

⁵ One of the compulsory courses on the MA at King's College is Sociolinguistics, in which course participants are introduced to the concepts and issues regarding EIL and ELF. Here the speaker has chosen to use the term EIL, although the topic of her dissertation relates more to English used internationally as a lingua franca, for which the preferred term among researchers is ELF (Cf. Seidlhofer 2004).

18 english teacher in taiwan and what do they think about (,) ENglish and what do
 19 they think about british ameri- american english is still they think they are er
 20 standard english or to what extent they (,) know about they understand about EIL
 21 inter- english as an international language (,) and er in terms of language use do they
 22 think do they accept there are a lot of er english varieties in the world such as er we
 23 we usually listen and contact with japanese or koreans or what or indian and er in
 24 that area do they really know do they really accept these (,) VArieties and also i want
 25 to know that their attitudes towards their own or maybe students er erm chinese
 26 characteristics when using English

In lines 1 and 2 the speaker, Mei, combines *topic* and *about*, where the preposition adds to the meaning being communicated by the noun, reinforcing the message through its own semantic properties, i.e. “subject/topic”. In line 3 she refers to the fact that at the time of the presentation she has already collected the data needed for her dissertation, emphasizing this with the words ‘right now actually’. Similarly in line 62 Mei emphasizes the current time by saying, ‘I right now got two ideas in my mind’. In line 10 there are several devices used to give emphasis to the ideas being presented. First of all the speaker is very explicit when she refers to the subject ‘L2 speakers’, including herself as part of this group by stating ‘we’ at the beginning, and emphasizing her point further with the synonym ‘users’. Secondly, her membership of this group of language users is reinforced further by placement of additional stress on ‘own’ (in the transcription conventions being followed all capital letters signify emphatic stress). In addition, there are occasions where a referent is made very explicitly, as occurs in the following in Line 12:

...english is in the national- english this subject is in the national curriculum

Mei chooses to repeat the word ‘english’, adding ‘this subject’ to show that she is referring specifically here to English as a school subject, thus ensuring that her intended meaning is clear. This additional explicitness is also achieved through the use of a subject pronoun together with a subject that has already been stated. This is a particularly characteristic feature of the presentation from which the above extract has been taken. It occurs in line 20 of the extract, where she says ‘widdowson he’s mentioned...’, using the subject pronoun in conjunction with a named subject. This is comparable to the use of ‘heads’ or ‘themes’ as

described in studies of ENL spoken corpora. McCarthy (1998) for example describes the use of heads as a structure that is especially characteristic of informal speech, commenting that it is a listener oriented practice whereby the speaker fronts the topic in order to facilitate comprehension. This fronting serves to introduce and highlight the subject before the clause proper, which is arguably the same function performed in the ELF data by combining the subject pronoun with a named subject in the main clause. The following table shows other cases where this process occurs in the remainder of the dissertation presentation quoted above.

Figure 5.6: Subject combined with subject pronoun

Line 20	and er erm according to widdowson he’s mentioned that er (,) basically the se-expanding circle where the taiwan belong to is er- the role of english there is should be a mean of international communication
Line 50	and er we ASSUMED that @@ erm taiwanese teachers they don’t really have some very basic idea of EIL
Line 54	i asked him WHY the teachers there they have er EIL idea
Line 63	the respondent (,) twenty four she mentioned that er EIL created an ISsue very interesting
Line 78	erm pretty much a a lot of teachers they (,) think it’s acceptable

It is thus clear that this is an especially salient phenomenon. The frequent use of this repetition suggests strongly that it occurs as the result of a listener oriented strategy, where the speaker highlights the subject in this way to ensure clarity and facilitate communication. In addition, line 98 contains a further striking structural arrangement. The adjective ‘interesting’ is used as a post-modifier rather than pre-modifier, with the noun ‘issue’ having been fronted and thus given extra prominence. This is a feature that also occurs with some frequency in the corpus, with a wide range of items being made more prominent by having been shifted forwards in the syntax. Listener orientations of this kind can also be considered further evidence of ELF speakers accommodating, that is, speakers in ELF are particularly aware of their listeners, and will thus adjust how they express an idea to maximise effectiveness of communication.

It is important to bear in mind here that the above extract is not typical of the overall corpus. Most recordings are of informal face-to-face interactions that occur between only a few speakers, whereas here the setting is more formal, and more institutional in nature. Given that the speaker is addressing a larger audience, and that the topic being presented relates to her own professional interests and background, these features are likely to be used more prolifically than they are in more everyday face-to-face communication. Nevertheless, these features occur throughout the ELF data, and appear to be particularly characteristic of ELF interaction more generally. It is also essential to point out that none of the features described above is of course exclusive to ELF communication. Placement of additional stress is very commonly used in ENL to give emphasis to a particular element in a clause, as is repetition of the subject through use of a subject pronoun in spontaneous, unrehearsed spoken discourse (see e.g. Carter and McCarthy 1997, McCarthy 1998). The extent to which these features are used however does seem to be specific to ELF interactions. The combining of the subject and a subject pronoun for example is a particularly common occurrence in the ELF data. It appears to be a very reliable means of ensuring clarity of message and avoiding any ambiguity. It is a feature that is characteristic of the corpus generally, and which is especially frequent in the above speech event: in approximately 20 minutes of dialogue, there is in fact only one occasion where the speaker of the extract uses a subject without then following this with a subject pronoun. Again, although the above extract is taken from a presentation given in an institutional setting, and is thus in some respects atypical of the data, it serves well the purpose of highlighting the use of repetition to reinforce an intended message. It is a phenomenon that is common to much of the data and is attested throughout the corpus.

The extract presented below also contains a number of cases of this feature, and is a more typical example of the corpus in terms of the nature of the setting. The following is part of a transcription of a naturally occurring conversation that took place in a canteen at King's College London during a lunch break between lectures on the MA in ELT and Applied Linguistics. All of the participants in this conversation are students who were enrolled on the MA for the academic year 2004-05. The discussion focuses on a forthcoming essay deadline and the issue of choosing a topic and finding appropriate resources in the college library. The underlining shows where the speakers have given added prominence to the subject of a clause by combining an explicitly stated subject with a pronoun.

T30	Dao Shu	L1 Mandarin
	Nuo	L1 Mandarin
	Tessa	L1 Ukrainian
	Mei	L1 Mandarin
	Jing	L1 Mandarin
	Ziad	L1s Urdu, Punjabi

M: mine is ok (.) my topic is writing so: i have a lot of books to read

J: @@@

M: it's er i don't know (..) nuo maybe she doesn't have (.) many:

N: learning strategies (.) learning strategy: i'm looking for the books on that topic

J: ah lots of people they are going to write that topic

M: yeah yeah that's why every book is checked out

N: yeah

T: you know the other option (.) those big book stores (.) they always have a review (..) when you go inside see in the review you can read the (holder) and then you can just leave the book

J: @@@

M: ah yeah <9> you don't need to buy </9> the book

T: <9> yeah it's true </9>

Z: yeah you can

T: you don't have to

M: there's no point if you just wa- use <1> one chapter </1> or j- <2> one paragraph </2> there is no point buying that

T: <1> hmm </1>

Z: <2> yeah </2>

T: or (.)

D: but can we take (.) notes (.) there?

T: you can yeah you can-

M: yeah you just write <3> on you own note book </3>

D: <3> in taiwan </3> (.)

N: don't write it <4> on the book </4>

Z: <4> or you can buy (.) </4>

D: you can't bring the notebook

J: why?

D: to the bookstore

J: oh yeah?

D: because i did it once and the: the shopkeeper was very ANgry

J: it was like a private bookshop? hm

D: yeah

M: yeah yeah i think it's- i think the bookshops here they are fine

T: no here over here they are very much relaxed (.) you

T30

Lines 103 - 142

105: co-ordination and word order of 'nuo' and 'she' – a reiterated subject for emphasis.

107: 'people they', subject and subject pronoun stated together.

3

136: combination of subject and pronoun.

can <5> have coffee (.) and read a book </5> and you can

(.)

Z: <5> oh yeah yeah </5>

J: i saw lots of people they just stay there just (.)

D: oh yeah

Z: i mean you can buy only those books which you think they're really useful

142: similarly, here we have use of 'which' and 'they', 2 pronouns referring to 'books'.

In lines 105, 107 and 136 of this interaction the subject is first stated explicitly and then reiterated using a pronoun in each case. In addition in line 105 the use of the proper noun 'Nuo' is a clear example of fronting, where the speaker gives emphasis to the person she is referring to in the subsequent clause. In line 142 the speaker, Ziad uses the relative pronoun *which* as well as the subject pronoun *they* to refer anaphorically to the referent 'books'. This is similar in nature to other cases where the subject is both stated explicitly and repeated through pronoun use, though it is also a different structural configuration. The combination of a relative and subject pronoun, unlike the other cases described so far, does not occur in standard ENL varieties. Therefore, once again it seems that the potential for linguistic resources to be used in a particular innovative way exists in both ENL and ELF, but in the case of the latter there are fewer restrictions regarding the extent to which this can occur. In ENL a subject pronoun can be used in tandem with an explicitly stated subject to reinforce the proposition, but this is not permitted when the linguistic context includes a relative clause. This restriction does not apply in ELF settings, which means there is thus greater freedom to use repetition as a means to help orient the listener and in doing so to ensure optimal clarity of expression. There are numerous other cases in the corpus where a relative pronoun is followed up with a subject pronoun relating to the same referent. It is also worth pointing out that the cases presented in the above extract have been produced by speakers from three different L1 backgrounds. This gives some indication of the widespread nature of this phenomenon in ELF communication.

5.7 Summary

The various motives and underlying causes of change discussed in this chapter can be summarized under the following headings, *redundancy*, *explicitness*, *regularity*, and *semantics*. These represent the key underlying forces that motivate the changes that appear to be taking place in ELF interactions. We have also seen how often these same processes are in

operation in ENL varieties, but as Seidlhofer (2004) has also noted, the resulting changes that these processes may bring about are often accelerated in the case of ELF. This is for the simple reason that as a result of the increased number of contexts in which the language is being used, a greater degree of variation and thus change is inevitable. This is not only a question of a qualitative difference in the number of speakers using the language however. Although, undoubtedly, the increased number of English speakers that ELF interactions involve is vast, and though this is an important factor influencing change, there is also a very important qualitative dimension to the current situation. It is not merely the case that the number of speakers is greatly increased if we regard ELF speakers as language users in their own right. As well as being numerically different, they are also language speakers of a different kind, with potentially a very different relationship with the language than that of a NS. Because speakers of ELF are not rooted to a particular L1 speech community⁶, their language use is not restricted in the same way as that of L1 speakers by an affiliation to a particular sociocultural or national group.

On the question of redundancy, Widdowson makes the following crucial observation, which relates in very important ways to the qualitative nature of English as it is used in lingua franca communication.

...it is precisely because grammar is so often redundant in communicative transactions that it takes on another significance, namely that of expressing social identity. The mastery of a particular grammatical system, especially perhaps those features which are redundant, marks you as a member of the community which has developed that system for its own special purposes.
(Widdowson 1994: 381.)

This is an essential point to bear in mind with regard to the current data. In ELF communication there is no need for speakers to master those aspects of the grammatical system which mark an individual as a member of a particular speech community. As it is especially the areas of the system that are communicatively redundant which take on this role, we can expect these same areas to provide very fertile ground when it comes to variation and change. In the absence of a need to identify with a particular individual L1

⁶ There are though emerging ELF communities of practice, which are defined more by a shared sense of purpose and interactional involvement than a shared set of predetermined cultural and linguistic norms (see Wenger 1998 and chapter 3 for a more detailed discussion of this).

group, there is absolutely no need to adhere to those elements of the language whose main purpose is to demonstrate group membership. In fact, over-association with any one social, cultural or national group might well be regarded in intercultural communication as a weakness, a possible drawback to successful interaction. Strong adherence to a set of cultural norms, especially where these belong primarily to a dominant sociopolitical force, may be interpreted as inflexibility to engage with other ways of thinking, which can lead to a sense of alienation. If this is extended to include strong adherence to the linguistic norms of that group, there is a real possibility that this will lead to increased idiomaticity, and in turn become a root cause of misunderstanding.

These matters will provide the principle focus of the following chapter, which will explore some of the literature on globalization in an attempt to situate ELF as a concept in relation to broader sociopolitical issues relevant in the current era. It seems to me that the changes currently taking place in English, especially those occurring in ELF contexts, are all part and parcel of wider more general trends. It seems inevitable given the pace and extent of change in geopolitics and communication technology, that such changes as these described here are taking place in the language. We are currently experiencing a period of heightened change in all manner of aspects of our existence, and change in fact characterises much of the contemporary world. Periods of significant social change have indeed signalled periods of heightened linguistic change throughout the history of languages, particularly English. This is dealt with at some length below in chapter 7. I will turn now though to a discussion of the relationship between ELF and globalization in order to make better sense of the way in which the language is influenced by its role as an international lingua franca.

Chapter 6

English as a Lingua Franca and globalization: An interconnected perspective

6.1 Introduction

In this chapter I review some of the literature on globalization, and evaluate ways in which broader sociopolitical debates can be relevant to an understanding of what is happening in the English language in the world today, especially in the ways in which English is being spoken as a means of intercultural lingua franca communication. This literature is broad in its interdisciplinarity, typically combining history, political science, economics and cultural theory to conceptualize the global forces currently shaping the world. These themes have continually been present at various times and in various combinations in discussions of the international spread of English, though in much of the literature on globalization these have been more systematically integrated into a conceptual framework.

Borrowing from this field, and thus relating the analytical frameworks constructed in political science, will no doubt be beneficial to linguists attempting to describe and explain ELF, a hugely sociopolitical phenomenon. Held, McGrew, Goldblat and Perraton's (1999) account of these many complex interrelated forces provides a very comprehensive analysis of the field. Widely acknowledged for its scope and depth, Held *et al.*'s following definition seems like an ideal starting point to begin my discussion.

Globalization may be thought of initially as the widening, deepening and speeding up of worldwide interconnectedness in all aspects of contemporary social life
(Held *et al.* 1999:2)

This description of current world reality does more than indicate the extent to which the world is politically and economically structured at an international level. The contemporary world order is globally constituted as much in the social and cultural realms as it is in politics and economics. Acknowledging this will inevitably involve consideration of the linguistic situation at a global level. A wider, deeper, accelerated interconnectedness has far reaching implications with regard to the use of language, especially one described so often as an international lingua franca. As discussed at length in chapter 2, the current situation of English in the world, where L2 speakers of the language are the majority users, is without

precedent in the history of human languages. Although there are and have been other international languages, the case of English is fundamentally different for the extent of its spread and diversification worldwide. The globalization of the language has meant it has become preferable in many circumstances to talk of *Englishes* in the plural, with several cases occurring in the titles of academic books and journals (e.g. Jenkins 2003).

In chapter 2 I reported on empirical studies in ELF, and the emerging bodies of descriptive data that have specifically addressed the multifaceted nature of English in the expanding circle (e.g. House 1999, Meierkord 2002 in pragmatics, and Jenkins, 2000, 2002 in phonology). I also discussed how Seidlhofer's (2001) description of the 'conceptual gap' between applied linguistic discourse and current pedagogical practice, and her call for systematic empirical studies of lingua franca English led to the establishment of VOICE. The argument that we need to go beyond a conceptualization of ELF to conduct large-scale systematic studies of how the language is used is a very powerful one. This has now led to the establishment of several large-scale corpus projects, including ELFA and VOICE as well as a growing number of PhD's based on ELF corpora (e.g. Cogo 2005, Cogo and Dewey 2006), including the data presented in this thesis.

The recent paradigm shift and emergence of empirical data notwithstanding, it seems necessary to situate the argument for a description of ELF within a broader framework than has been the case up to this point. It is time, in light of the continuing growth in the discourse regarding ELF, to extend the meta-level discussions and take the theoretical framing a little further. This I believe should involve viewing ELF from a more interconnected perspective, approaching the relevant key issues in relation to a theoretical position on globalization. It is essential to take account of the fuller context within which debates on the spread of English take place and thus consider at greater length the situation in relation to current views regarding the social and political world order.

6.2 Globalization and ELF

Held *et al.* (1999) identify three principle means of conceptualizing globalization, positions which are respectively: *hyperglobalist*, *sceptical*, and *transformationalist* in perspective. Although within each there will be significant differences in the theoretical interpretations of individual thinkers, the positions can be summarized according to sets of shared principles and characterized by the following key precepts. For the hyperglobalizer, globalization is the key

defining force of the current era, an era where traditional nation states have given way to a global market economy in which most networks are transnational, where globalization is driving a construction of new economic, social, and political world orders. The sceptics, on the other hand, maintain that the current level of interdependence has precedence in earlier periods of (usually imperially oriented) internationalization in history. The argument holds that national governments retain their power to regulate trade, commerce and politics and that any interdependence operates only at surface level. The transformationalist viewpoint defines the current epoch as a period of significant and rapid economic, social and political changes, where globalization is regarded as the driving force responsible for fundamental transformations in society and world order.

These three positions can be mapped onto current perspectives towards ELF. In a hyperglobalist framework can be situated discussions of linguistic imperialism and notions of the hegemony of English internationally, while the sceptical framework would apply to the continuing mainstream status quo in ELT where English continues to be taught according to NS norms and no need for significant change is perceived. The emerging literature on ELF (including among others, Gnutzmann 1999, Gnutzmann and Intemann 2005; Jenkins 2000, 2002, 2005, 2006a; Knapp and Meierkord 2002; Mauranen 2003, 2006; Seidlhofer 2001, 2004, 2005) can be situated in the transformationalist framework, as these authors and researchers have perceived the need to address the consequences of the considerable reshaping that movements and changes in social and political world order have produced. In short it is my belief that theorists (influential among which are for example Giddens 1990, 2002 Hoogvelt 1997, Nierop 1994, and Rosenau 1990, 1997) working from within a transformationalist perspective have most to say that is of relevance to a consideration of ELF, that such a perspective will provide most support to any attempt to describe and eventually codify lingua franca English.

6.3 Transformationalist analytical articulations

From a transformationalist perspective globalization is something other than straightforward Americanization or Westernization. While it is essential within this framework to acknowledge the obvious imbalance of power and inequality in the share of world resources, for the transformationalist it is also possible to overstate the extent of the economic, political and cultural influence of Western powers on the rest of the world. To encapsulate this

argument Giddens (2002) observes that the United States is undoubtedly the most dominant and influential force in the world, militarily, economically and culturally, pointing out that the level of imbalance in the share of resources is stark: most of the largest companies worldwide are American; the wealthiest few countries entirely dominate international agencies, such as the G8, World Bank, IMF, and UN. Nevertheless, and this is fundamental, he also claims that globalization cannot be uniquely geared towards American interests, nor indeed simply towards the interests of other wealthy nations. Although the United States is the driving force of the world economy, affecting almost every other economy on the planet, it is also the case that the US or the West more generally does not control global economics.

Giddens in fact argues that the overall geopolitical influence of the United States is less than it was before the break up of the Soviet Union, that despite the move towards unilateralism of the W. Bush administration American influence has become increasingly diffuse. In many respects the world has become more polycentric since the end of the cold war, with the EU, Japan, Korea and now China and India having all developed significantly in their geopolitical influence. This has resulted in more direct involvement of non-Western states in international organizations, regardless of the position of the United States: the Kyoto agreement on climate change has been ratified by some 53 countries; and despite strong American objections establishment of the International Criminal Court will go ahead. Even in a book length treatment of American political dominance, Noam Chomsky's (2003) critical evaluation of foreign policy since 9/11 acknowledges that the nation's influence has in certain arenas begun to wane, and resistance to American hegemony to increase. He observes that American control of the world's wealth, a key measure of its power, is estimated to have shrunk from a high of 50% to around half that figure as the global economy moves towards a *tripolar* order. Chomsky cites as an interesting example the ultimate refusal of Turkey (after initially capitulating to pressure) to allow American troops to enter Iraq from Turkish territory in the 2003 war – and this despite strong warnings by the American State department of the likely consequences of not allowing American will to be done. As we shall see, this has important implications for how we view ELF. In discussions about the current status and future development of English the significance of the native speaker can be similarly overstated, and especially so if we take account of Graddol's (1999) projected trajectory of English. In "The Decline of the Native Speaker" he

argues that by 2050 speakers of nativized Englishes will far outnumber speakers of native English, that English will be used primarily as a second language in multilingual contexts.

In addition, the impact of globalization in terms of cultural factors, yet more evidently connected with issues of how we conceptualize ELF, is something other than unilateral Americanization. UNESCO's *World Culture Report* (2000) poignantly observes that human beings have since pre-history continually invented and exchanged cultural elements, that no matter how vast the growth in communications technologies, "no limits can be placed on people's creativity and capacity to alter their ways of being" (Arizpe *et al.* 2000: 24). The authors go on to affirm that fears of homogeneity and cultural uniformity are unfounded, as the flow of cultural inventiveness cannot be halted, that despite the claims of anti-globalizer campaigns human cultural diversity although met with challenges remains in good health. Flows of information are far more enmeshed than many proclaim, and although icons of American culture, Coca-Cola, Nike, McDonalds, are omnipresent and intrusively visible, such are the complexities of processes of globalization that cultural impact is much more intricate and sophisticated than a simple proliferation of American or Western interests.

Clifford (1997) comments that intercultural connection has long been the normal state of affairs, and likewise questions the assumption that globalization results in homogenizing processes. He observes that late modernity is very much characterized by increased interconnectedness but that the result (as with the performance of language) is far from homogenous cultural output.

The performance of culture involves processes of identification and antagonism that cannot be fully contained, that overflow national and transnational structures.
(Clifford 1997:9)

And in a similar light

The cultural context of production and transmission must always in the end encounter an already existing frame of reference in the eyes of the consumer or receiver. The latter involves a process of great complexity – simple notions of homogenization, ideological hegemony or imperialism fail to register properly the nature of these encounters and the interplay, interaction and cultural creativity they produce.
(Held *et al.* 1999: 374)

Therefore, clearly the impacts of globalization are profound and far-reaching, but they are also multifactorial. In the transformationalist framework, processes of globalization affect almost every aspect of our lives and bring about significant alterations in the sociocultural fabric, yet they do so multilaterally: their forces felt in the Western countries where the processes originate as much as they are elsewhere. Global transmissions are locally consumed, and in their consumption are remodeled, reconstituted, transformed. They are not contained, hermetically sealed packages that exude only an outward influence. Linked to this, there is an increasing sense of 'borderlessness' acknowledged in a good number of related fields and disciplines (cf. Street 2005 and the implications of adopting a social practice approach to literacies), all of which has important implications for how we view language models and practices.

6.4 Increased interconnectedness and pluralism

As satellite transmissions and electronic forms of communication continue to increase, and as a consequence of the now routine nature of global communication, we are regularly exposed to new ways of seeing reality, to ways of thinking that might be significantly different from what we are culturally accustomed to. What is geographically local, say the identity of a neighbour, is often less familiar and more alienating than images projected via satellite from across the globe. The local thus often becomes defamiliarized and the global familiarized.

These processes, however, exert force in opposite directions and contradictory ways. Giddens (2002) observes that globalization tends to be understood as a force that emanates outward, projecting away from local communities onto a global stage. Acknowledging this effect, he also points out that globalization can simultaneously have contrary consequences that create renewed pressures for local autonomy and increased local nationalism (cf. Gnutzmann and Intemann's introduction to the 2005 edited volume *The Globalization of English and the English Language Classroom*). Increased interdependence has led to reinforcement and extension of international ties at a local and regional level as well as at a global one. Regions operate very often under treaties of international trade that are more relevant locally than globally, with effect that the world has become more polycentric and power more decentralized. This inevitably entails significant cultural consequences, among which we can consider factors that influence language use and patterns and norms of

linguistic behaviour. There has for example been a steady growth and renewed interest in many minority languages such as Welsh and Euskera (for which there are numerous online learning resources available) as well as an increase in the description of localized varieties of English.

Such multilateralism is not always acknowledged in the literature however. Despite descriptions of localized varieties, in much of the discourse on linguistic imperialism ENL nations are still described as belonging to the 'inner circle' and are still commonly regarded as the sole agents of language spread. That such agency is viewed so one-sidedly represents for Brutt-Griffler (2002) a narrow view of the current situation of English in the world, one that needs to be critically reappraised as it fails to acknowledge the role L2 English speakers have played in contributing to the spread and development of the language internationally. What is needed in order to counter the conventional view is a different theoretical perspective on the situation; that is, one in which English spread is not unequivocally seen as the result of a process of dominant Western powers having imposed the language on the dominated non-Western recipient. Instead, a reconceived theoretical framework for Brutt-Griffler recognizes the centrality of the conventionally 'peripheral' in the current status of English as a world language. Thus we can apply more specifically to language what commentators such as Giddens (2002), Hoogvelt (1997), and Rosenau (1997) for example have applied to politics, economics and culture more generally.

In a similar vein Arizpe *et al* (2000) highlight the extent to which there is conflict and struggle in a world of inequalities, the extent to which in the face of injustices there can be found cultural opposition to the perceived homogenizing cultural trend globally. Such affirmations of pluralism should facilitate the establishment of language varieties that no longer depend on the centre – here the inner circle – either for validity or as a normative model. However, in English language pedagogy the normative model is incongruously homogenized. At an institutional level there continues to be insufficient opposition to the current state of affairs: there is little justice and equality, and very little tolerance let alone affirmation of pluralism. There is unequal access to training and employment opportunities, an institutionalized, widely unchallenged injustice that tends to favour NS teachers and prejudice the NNS teacher (c.f. Seidlhofer 1999.)

Regrettably there is very little sense of pluralism to be found in the cultural diversity of those involved in the teaching of English as a Second Language. The mission of many of

the institutions of ELT – including publishers of pedagogical materials, organizations such as Cambridge ESOL that sanction good practice, models of teaching and learning and so on – would seem to involve exactly the kind of transmission of culture and subsequent homogenizing that the antiglobalization movement so fears. This need not of course be the case. Diversity should as Arizpe *et al* comment foster creativity, yet in ELT insistence on centrally derived teaching methodologies and L1 normative models stifles this diversity and often leads erroneously to stagnation rather than creativity. It is common to view cultural diversity in terms of majority and minority cultures, of mainstream and marginal. The spread of English internationally has led the source majority cultures of the inner circle to become the new minority and vice versa. This is the case numerically but not yet conceptually: the mainstream culture continues to be that of the old majority while the new expanding circle majorities do not enjoy mainstream status. The NNS in the framework of ELT institutions is still regarded as the ‘other’, as marginalized and in some senses dispossessed.

Directions of cultural influence are then many and varied, which linguistically may result in borrowings inwards towards the inner circle from the outer and expanding circles respectively. Acceptability and prestige are though of course entirely different matters. While the need for decentralized normative models and acceptance of plurality may be a good argument in principle, popular beliefs and perceptions about language standards seem both widespread and deep rooted (see chapter 8, section 8.6 for a more detailed discussion), such that a centralized prestige model as the best and only desirable learning goal continues to be favoured regardless of context. Therefore any attempt in pedagogy to implement a non-ENL variety as the normative model will inevitably need to address these perceptions and may well meet with a good deal of reluctance and resistance from all concerned, language learners, teachers, teacher educators and so on (see e.g. Jenkins 2005, *in press* on attitudes towards adopting an ELF perspective in practice).

6.5 Transnational communities of practice and ELF

In chapter 3.3 I commented on the concept of community of practice in relation to ELF. In lingua franca settings, however, Wenger’s (1998) need to be somewhat reappraised in order to better fit the fluidity of ELF communities. Of interesting relevance to this, Clifford (1997) provides a thorough critique of traditional ethnography, commenting at length on normative practices in anthropology fieldwork. He challenges received notions of ‘field’ in

ethnographic research on grounds that in complex, dynamic societies this can no longer be spatialized in a conventional sense. What is required he argues is a reassessment of current practice in order to better acknowledge and respond to developments in communication technology, transport and power. This entails focusing on a multitude of interconnecting sites, since cultural practice is not located uniquely at the centre (usually a site of rural residence in traditional anthropology) but at the interface between various sites of residence and travel. Clifford suggests we have at least as much to learn about a culture by studying the ways in which a community negotiates and establishes external relationships through regional and global connections as we have from studying its internal workings. Interconnection and contact is evermore important to our understanding of the world, especially as distances have been compressed through communications technology and traditional boundaries become more fluid.

This reassessment of spatial practice has relevance to the issue of speech community when applied to the context of ELF – sites of cultural practice and study where there is also as such no spatialized field, but rather a conceptual one. In an increasingly interconnected world, instances of culture become evermore dispersed and virtual in nature. In many contexts individuals identify themselves more by means of the beliefs they hold and the cultural practices they enter into, than as citizens of a particular state. As nations become more heterogeneous, this complicates any sense of national identity and causes individuals to form their sense of community or group identity through other means. As more conventional geopolitical structures become less influential, we must look for alternative ways of categorizing phenomena if we are to subject them to scrutiny and academic study. One way this is feasible in applied linguistics is by adopting the notion of ‘community of practice’ (Wenger 1998) in place of speech community (often dependent on geopolitical boundaries). Wenger’s discussion of the community of practice, is with its notion of looser, more dynamically defined boundaries especially relevant to ELF contexts since communication takes place not so much in a community, but rather via a comity of speakers whose ties are often entirely non-geopolitical. Wenger’s notion of community is still though a more conservative one than is required here, especially given the protean nature of ELF communities. To better reflect this characteristic, we can envisage a still more fluid concept of community of practice, where the practice itself is modified as it is enacted.

At a time when the global spread of English has raised fundamental questions about identity, ownership, normative practice, the parallels between anthropology and ELT seem clear. Negative definitions, and definitions with negative connotations abound and continue to determine the identities of those involved in the field: *non*-native speaker; English as a *foreign* language; English to speakers of *other* languages. Clifford discusses the disciplinary practices of anthropology at a time when, like ELT currently, the field is regarded to be in particular need of reassessing its activities and redefining itself in similar ways.

6.6 Tradition in the context of globalization

Giddens (2002) defines fundamentalism as ‘beleaguered tradition’, under pressures exerted by the processes of globalization. According to this notion traditions are defended and maintained in a conventional sense, that is, they are upheld as ritual truths with inherent value, highly regarded and to be protected against the threatening changes of late modernity. As a consequence of forces of globalization all manner of ritualized practices face a reduction in the influence their traditions and customs have on a world evermore plural in its identities and perceptions of reality.

Perhaps attitudes towards the maintenance of standardized language forms and views that seek to resist change are manifestations of a similar kind of fundamentalism. It seems important then that we view the issues regarding the continued promotion and maintenance of ENL norms in ELF contexts in a similar light, that we contemplate the situation through a wider lens as part of a broad postmodern tradition of questioning current paradigms (cf Pavlenko’s 2002 discussion of poststructuralist approaches to social factors in SLA).

A reluctance to acknowledge ELF contexts as norm-generating, as settings that require the use of a variety distinct from inner or outer circle domains can be equated with claims more generally about the importance of tradition. The tradition in this case is the customary application of the prestige variety. Elevated to a status above all other varieties, it is in fact not considered a variety at all; it is regarded as the unequivocally ‘correct’ way to use the language. The acceptance of variation and difference in language brings with it a certain amount of ambiguity in the sense that there is no one accepted norm or model since the question of what is appropriate will depend on the particular setting. There is no single English language speaker identity (except in an idealized sense), but a multitude of identities, indeed a multitude of Englishes. All of this of course requires substantial dialogue, of the

sort that fundamentalists have little time for. It certainly appears to be the case that in the ELT profession, there is more resistance to than interest in a dialogue about the issue of language variety (cf. Jenkins in press).

Traditions are often artificially created (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983). Giddens takes the concept further, suggesting that all traditions have been created, and done so as a means of bestowing power upon the custodians of those traditions. He also argues that the construct of traditions is relatively recent, dating to the past 200 years or so. There is arguably a further parallel here between this discussion and the context of ELF research: that is, the notion of a standard and supposed 'pure' English stretches back to a similar period in history. Not until the Eighteenth century and the work of figures such as Robert Lowth and Samuel Johnson, who undoubtedly saw themselves as guardians of the language, did conformity to a standard norm become established as desirable and necessary. However, in an atmosphere where our experience of the world is increasingly interconnected, where our lives are less clearly bounded and demarcated, centralized power and authoritarianism become less tenable and more difficult to uphold. In a transformationalist framework a dynamic world order demands greater flexibility - in language as in other domains - than traditions can afford.

We can take account of these arguments when considering which model of English would best suit the needs of learners in the majority of ELT settings. What is required is a similar process of democratization, a move towards a situation where learning goals and linguistic norms need to be either more locally defined and applied or determined by a codified international variety. There is therefore a need for a multi-norm approach, where locally contextualized models of language use are applied when relevant (c.f. Canagarajah 2005). A locally defined English would be most relevant in outer circle contexts, where the language is used primarily for intranational purposes. Elsewhere, in settings where the language transcends geographical and political boundaries, in other words in the setting of majority use, these goals would more appropriately be defined according to what international corpora can tell us about lingua franca English, and how this varies according to context.

Insistence on the standard Englishes of the inner circle, whether American or British derived, is in this context untenable. Just as entirely centralised political power and the monopolising of information are incompatible with worldwide trends in the advancement of

global communications, so too is a centrally derived model incompatible with the use of English internationally as the prime medium of those communications. Much political interest is invested in organisations and special interest groups that go beyond the nation-state. Increasingly we live our lives at a level that is not exclusively, or even primarily in some cases, defined according to a national delineation. In effect the nation-state becomes the nation and the state as separate and different entities. This in the UK for example can be illustrated at the nation level through say expressions of Welsh nationality, and at the state level through institutions that are defined as British. Interestingly, language standards in education are administered and imposed at the state level, with a single set of norms supposed to be relevant to all contexts. These concepts of decentralization and flexibility are yet to be adopted in language pedagogy both in L1 and L2 contexts, where a top down process is still very much in operation and where state level institutions are responsible for educational norms and policies, even where this may be wholly irrelevant (e.g. ELT in ELF settings).

6.7 Globalization and charges of neo-imperialism

The impact of globalization on cultural practices and artefacts will vary according to the particular perspective. Adopting a hyperglobalizer position tends to entail a homogenizing view, where world culture becomes continually ever uniform (usually continually Americanized) in nature. The sceptics tend to regard the cultural impact as minimal, with national cultures and cultural differences enhanced, especially given the lack of substance that global cultures are afforded in this perspective. Finally, for the transformationalist, enhanced interconnectedness results in a network of hybrid cultures.

The economic, political and cultural impact of globalization is commonly regarded by those opposing global interconnection as forces of neo-imperialism. Interestingly, in contrast Held *et al.* make the following comments on the problems facing agents of imperial power.

Constantly imposing rules from the centre requires time, resources and effective infrastructures. Therefore empires need, as far as possible, to delegate power to the periphery. But in doing so, they threaten their own integrity. One way of partially circumventing this dilemma is cultural: an empire can try and create a universal ruling class bound by ties of kinship, belief and religion so that the essential political

division in the imperium becomes vertical – between classes – rather than horizontal – between centre and periphery.
(1999: 334)

This has quite poignant relevance to the current debate. The institutions and infrastructures that continue to hold significance in ELT can be regarded in a similar light, as mechanisms by which the core-periphery relationship are primarily established vertically rather than horizontally. This is perhaps best illustrated with reference to the British Council, whose website includes the following statements:

In the 1920s and early 1930s, the Foreign Office realised the need for an organisation responsible for the promotion of British culture, education, science and technology in other countries

The British Council was founded as an organ of international propaganda... Particular Council initiatives included the teaching of English, but political messages always came along with the language tuition.
(www.britishcouncil.org/history, accessed 17/12/05)

While it is important to bear in mind that these comments appear on the website's history pages and clearly relate to the earliest beginnings of the British Council, the words do continue to have resonance. There is little on the website or elsewhere in the promotional literature to suggest the underlying mission has changed significantly since the organization's first inception. The political environment may have changed considerably over the years, resulting in the political message and propaganda aspect becoming more implicit than openly stated, but nonetheless they still seem to be there.

It is, for example, customary to define language communities as either English speaking or non-English speaking, a process through which communities, languages, and cultures have come to be defined according to what they are not, by means of their otherness. Regardless of the widespread nature of the language, we continue to use 'foreign' and 'other' as if the language is still contained within clearly demarcated geographical settings. Whether we speak of the teaching of English as a second language or foreign language the unspoken assumption is that we know what we mean by English - at least intuitively and instinctively the nature of English has remained for the most part unquestioned. This is reflected on a number of levels in current ELT practice, and as

commented in chapter 2, is in fact encompassed in the names of two of the profession's most influential institutions: TESOL (Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages) and Cambridge ESOL (English for Speakers of Other Languages), both of which are influential.

I also discussed in chapter 2 the cultural component of ELT, and how organisations such as TESOL and the British Council have as at least part of their remit a responsibility to disseminate cultural practices alongside the teaching of the language. As Leung (2005: 120) puts it ELT is a "transnationalized enterprise." It is also an enterprise which, regardless of this transcendence, at least to some extent undoubtedly retains the notion that the inner circle countries are what Chinua Achebe has described as the 'ancestral home' of the language, with both linguistic and cultural ties that continue to exert influence on the teaching of the language in international contexts, even where the language is learned for ELF communication in NNS-NNS interaction. The ties established in the postcolonial world are quite different in nature from those of the colonial era - they may not be ties of religion or kinship, but of beliefs certainly. This is the case in current English language pedagogy. There is a notional 'ruling class' in mainstream ELT, whose ties consist of cultural knowledge and beliefs about best practice, beliefs originated in ENL countries and then disseminated - or perhaps better, handed down - to the 'periphery'. In a sense kinship can also still be said to play an important role in the process due to the supposed expertise and consequent privileged status of the NS. This is especially the case if we acknowledge that the identity of a NS is more a question of ethnic and cultural identity, that inheritance rather than linguistic competence is the key constitutive factor (Rampton 1990, Leung, Harris and Rampton 1997).

English Language pedagogy and teacher education are primarily fashioned by institutions such as the British Council, by publishing Houses like Cambridge University Press, and by examining bodies such as Cambridge ESOL. Assessment in language learning courses and teacher training programmes continues to promote NS norms as the only acceptable model of language use and only acceptable measure of language success (see also chapter 8, section 8.2.1 for a discussion of language assessment). This process occurs much in the same way, indeed it is part of the package presented, that the British Council promotes postcolonially the cultural interests and values of the UK. During the colonial era much dominance was achieved ideologically by a worldwide application of Western models of

education, through its curricula, materials, and the deep socializing in the cultural as well as linguistic ways of English. In the postcolonial, post-globalization age this state of affairs continues but has done so in a limited manner. Importantly the number of challenges presented to the hegemony of the dominant culture has increased, a trend embodied by artists such as the Kenyan author Ngugi Wa Thiongo, who in his later fiction actively rejects English, adopting in its place his native Gikuyu (see e.g. Ngugi 1993). The relevance of challenges of this kind in ELT has gone largely unacknowledged, with even the most notable treatments of the issues in applied linguistics (e.g. Canagarajah 1999) largely unknown among practitioners. English language pedagogy needs to take fuller account of the arguments presented, to question the continued ideological dominance of the inner circle, and reject the unchallenged maintenance of NS norms as universally applicable. Canagarajah (2005) suggests (optimistically perhaps) that a disciplinary shift is in fact already in progress, a shift that entails a move from a 'hierarchical approach' to a 'levelled approach', to a system of linguistic plurality where knowledge is locally defined and information flows are multilateral (2005: xxvii). It is essential that this shift continues, and that language teachers and teacher educators in mainstream ELT become more aware of these arguments.

6.8 The contrastive effects of globalization

The cultural effects of globalization are many and varied when considered from a transformationalist perspective. As Held *et al.* (1999) observe, cultural flows have begun to be reversed, continually renewing intricate patterns of interconnectedness. The worldwide web and satellite television channels allow for significant increases in the transmission and spread of ideas and images – both locally and globally. As interaction that transcends regions and borders becomes commonplace, this substantially alters the context within which cultural projects develop. That cultural products are inevitably transformed as they are locally consumed represents significant challenge to a homogenization hypothesis. In the context of ELT, this makes the notion of a monolithic international standard, such as Crystal's (2001, 2003) concept of World Standard (Spoken) English somewhat problematic.

Communication continues to increase at every level, locally, regionally and globally, with greater diffusion of information, transmitted with greater intensity and at greater velocity. Held *et al.* argue that rather than view this as a root cause of cultural dominance, these new infrastructures and innovative channels of communication in fact make

censorship and oppression of local identities more difficult to maintain. International movements such as the peace movement and the environmental movement have greatly benefited from the possibility of virtual communities and cultural networks that link the ideas and practices of different groups across large distances. In addition, on a political level, transnational organizations permit the flow of information to such a vast extent that it is easier to forge the necessary ties to enable ideas to be better mobilized through a common frame of reference, thus providing greater voice to the marginalized.

Indeed Bhagwati (2004) comments on how a number of peripheral cultures have gained some prominence on the world stage, raising their profile globally, even if only temporarily. The example given is that of Guatemalan Nobel Prize winner Rigberto Menchu, whose case is now being pursued through the UN's Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues. Baghwati also adopts a transformationalist perspective, arguing that accusations that globalization represents a threat to indigenous culture is a vastly over simplistic view and that without transnational organizations or the mobility of modern technology, it is unlikely for example that the position of the indigenous peoples of Guatemala would have been given a voice. There are many examples of similar minority groups and languages now able to reach large audiences and present their case on the world stage. The EZLN (Ejercito Zapatista de Liberacion Nacional/Zapatista Army of National liberation) in Mexico has as well as a local radio station, a website on which visitors can pledge donations to their cause and read about the movement not only in Spanish and English, but also French, German, Portuguese (www.ezln.org, accessed on 17/12/05).

As Appadurai and Stenou (2000) comment, there is an increasing number of groups who live in a global diaspora, cultural groups such as Kashmiris, Kurds, Sikhs, Tamils who are able to express a counter-nationalism through global networks, and who are active transnationally by expressing via electronic means of communication a non geographic citizenship based on culture and not borders or geopolitical boundaries. A good case in point would be IWGIA (International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs) whose aims and activities are very much globally defined and carried out. There is thus a duality (or better plurality) in the impact of globalization. On the one hand free market trading and economic interconnectedness may have led to increased migration and displacement, but it is the technologies of globalization that enable the expression and empowerment of displaced immigrant minority communities, allowing dispersed groups to maintain old

ancestral/cultural links and create new emerging ones. This again has important implications for English language pedagogy in that the establishment of networks and exchange of information can be democratized, or less hierarchical and more levelled (to borrow again Canagarajah's terms). In other words increased interconnectedness and the technology that facilitates this can enable pedagogical norms and practices to be more locally defined and regionally interchanged, and thus they become less dependent on a single unitary (L1 English) centre.

Multiculturalism is often however reduced to the private sphere. Apaddurai and Stenou warn against the danger of assuming that by subscribing to cultural diversity we are able to address issues of inequality. Although Western nations increasingly possess large and longstanding immigrant communities and are in essence multi-ethnic and multicultural, this only extends as far as the private sphere. At the level of public spheres any nation-state, no matter how powerful, will have limited resources available for employment, housing, education and so on. Appadurai and Stenou observe that as minority groups gain access to public spaces for expression of cultural identity, this will place economic strains on the state. As new communities begin to lay claim to institutional resources, there would be a shift in the makeup of power and distribution of economy at the expense of the favoured ethnic group. New claimants need therefore to be kept to a minimum and the embrace of multiculturalism restricted to private spheres where cultural expression can be maintained but access to institutional resources limited. This is exactly the kind of fear felt by organisations such as English First and US English (c.f. Crawford 1992, 2000) who, fearful of a decline in the dominance of English, campaign for its status to be made official in the constitution. There is again a parallel situation currently in existence in the ELT profession, where it is heritage that gives cultural expression, in this case the continued spread of the culture of the NS. Maintenance of inner circle norms and practices are a similar reaction, helping safeguard institutional resources for centre communities.

Bhagwati goes on to counter the claims of cultural homogenization, proposing as evidence recent statistics on cultural production. He quotes a number of figures to illustrate the argument, pointing out for example that according to UNESCO in the 20 years leading up to 1998 the share of the media market (including music, visual arts, radio, television) for developing countries had risen from 12 to 30%. He adds that all cultural expression inevitably changes over time as invention, political shift and related processes impact on the

formation and transmission of cultural artefacts. The supposed process of decay often associated with change is evoked through feelings of nostalgia and an idyllic reconstruction of the past, which as Bhagwati observes, often bears little resemblance to reality. As we have seen elsewhere the situation is far more complex, and cultural impact multidirectional. On the nature of this complexity and the relationship between the past and modernity, he makes the following interesting observations.

... human beings have a complex self-identity whose mosaic draws on “horizontal” colors that come from living with others within a community and “vertical” colors that come from ethnic and historical roots and memories, often reconstructed and imagined. Nearly all societies will therefore treasure the past, seeking to freeze and recall in museums the cultural heritage they decide to hold precious. As cultures evolve and elements of them vanish, we must decide what we need to remember and retain in our midst. All of the past cannot be frozen endlessly in time. This conscious choice of the elements of one’s heritage that must be preserved is precisely what happens as the old gives way to the new.

(2004: 112-113, inverted commas in original)

Nostalgia in this sense should not be used to preserve the past, or an idealized version of it, but used to assess and reassess the artefacts of the past in light of the present and current influences. Mainstream ELT practice runs the risk of doing just that, by failing to understand pluralism in language use, seeking instead to temporally and spatially freeze English.

As the world becomes a more interconnected place, the “horizontal colors” will extend further, will transcend national and regional boundaries, which will likely result in more hybridized cultures - not that culture has not already been hybrid in nature for centuries before now. The process is though, due to the speed and global reach of communications, much accelerated and farther reaching in its expanse. In modern societies most expressions of culture occur in an international context, are very readily transmitted via the World Wide Web and satellite, and can be experienced practically simultaneously across the globe. Nevertheless, any cultural expression also occurs in a local context, and will be interpreted in a very different cultural and historical landscape in say Europe, East Asia and Latin America with very different interpretations that actively consume and often transform the product in accordance with the vertical plane.

6.9 In conclusion: Nostalgia and normative models

To consider again the nostalgia with which the past is often viewed, there seems to be a parallel phenomenon inherent to the question of language change and popular conceptions of language standards. Similar to the fear that change in culture equates with loss, language change is regarded with suspicion. Innovation in language is associated most often in popular beliefs with an erosion of an idealised past where language use was more 'pure'. There is likely to be resistance to legitimising features of ELF as variants in their own right because they cannot be tied down to a single source or origin, because they are hybrid and therefore quite likely to be regarded as sub-standard (cf. Jenkins' 2006b critique of the failure in SLA research to accept any language form which does not adhere to NS norms). Of course, those who make claims about the purity and maintenance of language are ignorant of, or worse, have chosen to ignore the history of English. It is a hybridized language in the extreme, with a very varied and complex etymology. The language has continually borrowed from sources as varied as French, Latin, Japanese and so on, incorporating lexis and transforming it phonologically and orthographically where needed. The language in its multitude of guises as it has developed historically has always at any stage in the process varied socially and geographically. The notion that there has ever existed a linguistically pure form is of course a fallacy. Language change is lamented in much the same way any cultural change is often equated with deterioration and loss of past accomplishments.

By considering the globalization literature we are able to better take account of the full context within which debates regarding the spread of English take place. After all, if ever there was a transnational enterprise then international uses of English are surely prime candidates. To discuss the various means of conceptualizing globalization is to better comprehend the World Englishes arguments, and better understand how the current transformations that English is undergoing are part of far broader global trends that are impossible to dismiss. Acknowledging the increased cultural flows so prominent in the contemporary world order, I believe adds significant weight to any discussion of why and how innovative linguistic forms are emerging in the expanding circle. The linguistic changes that corpora of international English shed light on are examples of the kind of cultural manifestations that arise out of our increasingly interconnected experiences that so characterize the current era.

There is, in addition, a transformationalism in applied linguistics, although essentially it is a unilateral one. In English language use there has been much in the way of transformation, but to date this has largely only been accepted with regard to L1 varieties. As vertical ties replace horizontal ones, homogenization where it does occur, such as in the continued promotion of centre derived language norms, exists not as a necessary and inevitable condition of globalization but as anxious reaction to its processes. ELT practitioners for their part perpetuate homogenized language teaching models and methods. The need to safeguard tradition and nostalgia for the status quo are root causes of homogenization in language teaching. Thus to consider the globalization literature also suggests an explanation for the often emotive scepticism with which the ELF debate is greeted. It is time instead that the diversity and pluralism inevitably characteristic and in fact constitutive of a globally diffuse language were better acknowledged, understood and embraced, time that similar transformations that occur in language use also occur in current practice in language pedagogy. The globalization of English is the most recent stage in the continual (sometimes more gradual, sometimes more accelerated) transformational processes that have been always been present, and which histories of English (e.g. Baugh and Cable 2002) tend to describe as beginning when the language first emerged in Britain at some time in the middle of the fifth century. I turn in the following chapter to a consideration of the historical development of English, with the view to situate the findings of ELF corpora in relation to the continuing history of the language.

Chapter 7

The historical development of English

7.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to provide a brief review of some of the most influential literature in the field of diachronic linguistics. This is in order to fully situate the current changes taking place in ELF communication within the historical context of the development of English. The discussion will highlight how many of the innovative features presented above in descriptions of the data can be regarded as part of the ongoing forces of change that have led to innovation throughout the history of the language. In addition, I argue that ELF contexts represent particularly productive sites of language change, since like other periods of heightened international activity in the past, language contact situations signal accelerated periods of linguistic development.

It is particularly noteworthy that many of the most prominent texts relating to the history of English conclude with a chapter on American English, assuming this to be the most recent significant episode in the development of the language. Baugh and Cable's (2001) fifth edition of the history of the language concludes with a chapter entitled 'The English Language in America.' And although there is a section on World English, this is contained within the chapter on American English, and remarkably is limited to only a little over two pages out of the fifty pages of the chapter. It is also important to bear in mind that the stance adopted in the Baugh and Cable text is oriented very much towards the influence of American English outside of North America. In other words, the main focus of the section is to highlight that American English has come to be the most dominant variety of the language worldwide, and it is American English which will most shape the way English is used internationally. Baugh and Cable do refer to the emergence of nationalized second language varieties, especially in relation to multilingual countries in which English is afforded special or official status. They also point out that there are commentators who argue that the use of English as an international language will be influenced as much by non-native speakers as by native speakers. In fact, the language is probably being shaped more by non-native speakers than by native speakers. However, the discussion continues to assert that

American English continues to be the most prominent source for the development of the language as a global means of communication.

Similarly, the six-volume study *The Cambridge History of the English Language* has as the focus of the final volume (2001) the use of English in North America. In the volume editor's introduction, Algeo (2001: xxvii) asserts that the influence of American English on other varieties of English around the world, especially on British English, has continued to increase over recent years, observing that American English is currently the most dominant form of the language. This seems to be rather problematic, especially in light of the discussion of globalization in chapter 6, and the arguments put forward by those working from within a transformationalist perspective. As discussed at length in chapter 6, the cultural, political and social transformations taking place in the current era are not merely the result of unilateral Americanization or Westernization. There is ample evidence to suggest that the influence of the United States around the world is declining rather than growing. If this is the case, and given the prominence of the role of English as international lingua franca, then it hardly seems appropriate to conclude a history of the English language with a discussion of American English. It is my hope that future volumes and future editions of histories of the language will shift their focus significantly. That rather than regarding American English as the most prominent and influential source of language development, they will focus instead far more on the influences of varieties outside L1 contexts, especially on the developments taken place in ELF contexts.

The current chapter considers some of the many varied accounts and explanations of language change as this has occurred throughout the history of English, with the aim to relate my research findings to the processes of change that have shaped the language previously. The current role of English for lingua franca communication represents a next logical step in the ongoing processes of change that have always taken place in the language. ELF is not somehow separate from the rest of the history of the language; rather it is inextricably linked to the development of the language in all its contexts. Although many of the outcomes may well be different, the underlying forces that have shaped English thus far continue to operate in ELF settings. In order to illustrate this I turn now to a discussion of the major sources of language change described in the literature.

7.2 Sources and types of language change

The literature on the historical development of English sights numerous and wide-ranging sources for the many changes the language has undergone in the past 1500 years or so. Crystal (1995) for example discusses changes in lexis and semantics, providing as examples of the processes involved: *extension* or *generalization*; *narrowing* or *specialization*; *amelioration*; *pejoration* or *deterioration*. It is interesting to note that these might readily be interpreted as value-laden categories, affected as Crystal points out not by linguistic factors but moral and social ones. The first two of these, extension and narrowing, are likely to be relevant to a consideration of ELF data, particularly the former. We have seen in the data a number of cases where the lexical resources of the language are used differently from how they are in currently established ENL varieties. It seems probable that this trend will continue as English is evermore extensively used for lingua franca purposes. In order to meet the needs of a wide range of speakers from many different linguistic and cultural backgrounds in contact with each other, both the denotative and associative meanings of words are especially likely to shift in nature. Although we can talk of the connotative meaning of lexis in terms of positive and negative associations, the latter two processes mentioned by Crystal, amelioration and pejoration, seem to me problematic. Given the popular misconception that language change somehow represents a change for the better or for the worse (usually the worse) (cf. Aitchison 2001) these terms seem inappropriate. This is especially so in a discussion of lingua franca English in that the attitudes and perceptions of those involved in ELT pedagogy often echo popular beliefs about language, where change can be equated with deterioration in standards (see chapter 8.5 for a detailed discussion). For this reason, I do not use these terms in relation to the data gathered for this research project. Interestingly, there seems to be in Crystal's summary no category to describe change that is neither a bettering nor worsening, nothing to denote semantic shift that is not an extension or narrowing but simply a change in meaning.

7.2.1 Conversion

A number of introductory texts on language change (e.g. Aitchison 2001) identify 'conversion' as a key process by which change occurs, where for example a word will change its word class without modification through the addition of a suffix. This has involved the following combinations: verb to noun; adjective to noun; noun to verb; adjective to verb;

noun to adjective; grammatical word to noun; affix to noun; phrase to noun; grammatical word to noun (Crystal 1995: 129). A number of these, particularly noun to verb, are cited in the literature as being especially common instances of language change, such as with *to carpet*, *to colour*, *to chair*, and so on. There is little said on the underlying sources of these changes, though Aitchison suggests that a possible cause for the conversion of the preposition *down* into a verb, as in *Henry downed a pint of beer* (2001:118) may be that in the absence of a verb with the meaning 'to do suddenly and completely' the preposition has been converted to meet the needs of a society that currently moves at a faster pace than it did in the past. This may of course be the case, though the underlying motives for a change of this kind can surely only be speculated on. Since the origins of language change most often cannot be identified, the underlying cause may be entirely beyond explanation. It is a description of the nature of the process involved that is of most relevance to a discussion of ELF usage.

To regard ELF contexts in their own right as sources of language variation means that many of the processes of language change noted in ENL descriptions might also be observed in lingua franca settings. There are indeed a number of examples where conversion occurs in the data. The following example will provide an interesting illustration of this point. Prior to the presentations that were given at King's College by a number of the participants in the research (see appendix B for details), one member of the group (L1 Arabic) asked the question, *Are you going to DVD it?*, referring to whether or not the course tutors were planning to video record the presentations. Here the noun *DVD* has been used innovatively as a verb, much in the same way that the noun 'video' converted to a verb when the technology first became widely available. The conversion of noun to verb seems to be an especially productive area of change, with many precedents throughout the history of the language.¹ This has in the past most often coincided with technological innovation, such as with *cable*, *video*, *telephone*, *fax*, *text*, all of which converted from nouns to verbs to serve the purpose of referring to the processes involved in making use of a newly invented artefact. This may continue to be the case in lingua franca contexts, though given the broad scope of social and cultural backgrounds of ELF speakers, the process seems likely to occur to an

¹ Baugh and Cable (2002: 362) illustrate how, when English speakers first settled in the Americas, as well as borrowing words from the indigenous American languages (e.g. *canoe*, *moccasin*, *papoose* and so on) early changes in the lexis involved extending the use of the existing word stock to describe the experiences of the New World. This was achieved partly by process of conversion, with for example *scalp* coming to be used as a verb.

even greater extent and for more than technological innovation as the hugely varied needs of those speakers need to be met.

Several of the innovations described in chapters 4 and 5 can be related to the phenomenon of conversion, as a similar process seems to be in operation. As well as the apparent conversion of *back* into a verb (see my treatment of prepositions in chapter 5.3.1 for further explanation), there are other areas of the system which involve a similar conversion from one word class type to another. Although beyond the scope of this thesis, further analysis of the corpus and other ELF corpora, will doubtless prove fruitful in revealing the extent to which processes of this kind, long found to be occurring in ENL and nativized Englishes, continue (and if anything are accelerated) in ELF contexts of use.

The conversion of 'down' mentioned above represents an example of language change that according to Aitchison has occurred as the result of sociolinguistic factors, where changes in social conditions and functional needs lead to innovations in the lexis and grammar of a language. Other sociolinguistic causes of language change described by Aitchison include: borrowings, as the result of language contact; changes in phrase structure, which occur as the result of politeness principles (for example avoidance of pronouns and use of passive voice in requests to show deference); and changes in discourse patterns, due to processing constraints and the need for information to be conveyed gradually in manageable chunks. In this last case though, since this seems to relate to the cognitive capacities of the receiver, it could equally be regarded as a psycholinguistic reason for language to move towards this kind of discourse structure. I turn now to the question of borrowing in relation to the ELF data, since because ELF settings are by definition language contact situations, this is likely to become an especially important area of development.

7.2.2 Language contact and borrowing

Borrowing is manifestly relevant to a discussion of language innovation in lingua franca settings. The process is again going to be the same, though the perspective from which we regard it, and the subsequent outcomes will be different. The perspective needs to shift entirely to reflect the situation in ELF. We can view ELF as the target language, or parent language system, where lexis is heard and borrowed from ENL, indigenized varieties, as well as the multitude of languages spoken by ELF users. These words may then be adapted much

in the same way as has occurred with the borrowing of words from other languages into L1 Englishes.

Historically, the development of English has involved many periods in which language change has been brought about as the result of language contact situations. Baugh and Cable (2002), in their famous history of the English language, describe the importance of cultural diversity and intercultural contact with regard to the ways in which the language has developed.

The diversity of cultures that find expression in it is a reminder that the history of English is a story of cultures in contact during the past 1,500 years. It understates matters to say that political, economic, and social forces influence a language. These forces shape the language in every aspect [...] the history of a language is intimately bound up with the history of the peoples who speak it.

(Baugh and Cable 2002: 1)

Thus language contact is not only a relevant aspect of the history of English, it has in fact characterized the development of the language historically. Notably, English has:

... a truly international history of quite divergent societies, which have caused the language to change and become enriched as it responds to their own special needs.

(*Ibid*: 2)

In fact, in many of the introductory texts on language change or the History of English (among others Aitchison 2001, Blake 1996, Leith 1997, McMahon 1994), it is noted that English has throughout its development borrowed quite freely from additional language sources. Aitchison (2001) comments on the wide range of sources that have been responsible for adding to the Lexicon of English, examples of which clearly demonstrate a very broad and varied number of origins of borrowed items. In addition, Blake (1996) points out that lexical borrowing can be of two kinds. Firstly, items are borrowed as a result of contact between English and other nations/languages that are of current importance and interest in world affairs, such as was the case with *perestroika* and *glasnost*. These often do not become permanently established since they are seldom encountered once the issues they represent become less significant on the world stage, resulting in loss of public interest. Secondly, there are those that, for whatever reason, become more firmly established in the lexicon, such as *pizza* (Italian), *ranch* (Spanish), and so on.

As English has continued to expand across wide-ranging contexts, it has come into contact with an increasingly large number of communities, their cultures and their languages. As the language has travelled it has inevitably led to an increasing number of borrowed items. This is as true (if not even more so) for the language in expanding circle settings as it has been elsewhere. Given the increased internationalization of many societies in late modernity, it seems only logical to assume that languages will continue to influence each other lexically, and in some cases, perhaps where contact is sustained, grammatically and phonologically. It is likely therefore that borrowing will continue to occur in all varieties of English, and to do so relative to the particular needs of the many groups and communities who use the language. Until now it has been customary for linguists to describe, or simply acknowledge, the influence of additional languages on English only from the point of view of its native speakers. Even where English derived Pidgins and Creoles have been studied this has often been done from a position of contrast to the prestige varieties, that is, described according to supposed deficits, and seen as somehow the result of separate processes not found in the development of high status codes (cf. Mufwene 2001).

This is a somewhat unsatisfactory state of affairs: the language is an important medium for far more than its native speakers, and thus warrants description and explanation from perspectives that lie beyond ENL contexts. Items borrowed into British or American English for instance should perhaps be of little importance to users of English in international settings where the language is primarily a *lingua franca*. The continued collection of ELF data will likely shed light on the way in which the lexicon of English is being influenced through contact between its various speakers in these international contexts. There is no reason to assume that items borrowed into English in the UK, US, Australia and so on, will necessarily be the same as each other, or the same as items in say Indian or Singapore Englishes. It is also equally likely that loan words will be required in *lingua franca* settings that are not relevant elsewhere. Whether borrowing occurs on a short-term basis to suit contemporary needs, or whether loan items become established longer term, it is no doubt the case that while the process and underlying causes of borrowing may be the same in ELF, it is significant that the nature and outcome may be very different. The sources of borrowed items in *lingua franca* English may well be very different from those of other varieties. It will no longer, therefore, uniquely be native speakers, or speakers of

indigenised Englishes who select items, or whose needs reflect which items are temporary and which become established.²

Mufwene (2001) describes the ‘social bias’ inherent in the naming conventions used in discussions of language variation in English. A case in point is the custom of defining indigenized varieties as “new Englishes”. This practice he argues is not only inappropriate, but even destructive and harmful, since to label these varieties in this way is to treat them as special, extraordinary cases, thus less important and subordinate to more established ENL ones. In Mufwene’s words, this labelling convention means they are largely perceived as the ‘illegitimate offspring’ of English, peculiar and somehow less related than the “older” Englishes to the original source, the more legitimate descendants of Old English. The tacit impression is that they have evolved in unusual, untypical ways as the result of language contact, and are as a consequence less legitimate varieties of the language. Mufwene argues however that language contact has been a significant factor in the development (or ‘ecology’) of English since its very beginnings, and for us to differentiate indigenized varieties in this way is to ignore the newness of L1 Englishes, which have also often evolved as the result of the same kind of processes. This in turn then leads to a devaluing of indigenized Englishes, since they are deemed not to have the same kind of pedigree, having emerged only recently and in ‘unnatural’ ways, and seen therefore as somehow linguistically inferior.

To categorize language varieties thus is not only arbitrary, but also untenable, since it ignores fundamental truths about the history of languages - in particular how they diversify to suit the sociocultural as well as communicative needs of those who speak them. Indeed, as Seidlhofer (2005) points out in her reappraisal of notions of Standard English in the light of recent and continuing trends in the use of English globally, the categorization of varieties, particularly on linguistic grounds, is both problematic and unattainable.

Language is a continuum in time and space, so what linguists can do is indicate variable features, but they cannot, as linguists, identify the boundaries which demarcate one variety from another.

(Seidlhofer 2005: 162)

² Leith (1997) points out that the motivation for borrowing may lie in a desire to use language as a marker of social differentiation – that is, in-group membership can be signalled through the use of loan words and phrases, as is commonly the case in prestige organizations, professions and so on through the continued use of Latin expressions. Unfamiliarity with these features of the code will result in exclusion of some kind. This phenomenon might also in future be observed to operate in ELF interactions, where speakers may use loan words from a variety of sources to demonstrate membership and allegiance to an internationalised community of speakers.

In other words, since all languages evolve diachronically, no one variety is any more or less new than any other. Modern English varieties in any context exist as the result of long processes of language change. Mufwene comments that while the role of contact in language restructuring processes has tended to be highlighted in the case of creoles and indiginized Englishes, it has largely been downplayed or even entirely dismissed in discussions of L1 varieties. For the most part accounts of language change in historical linguistics have been largely attributed to internal processes. In contrast, for Mufwene language contact is an important influencing factor in the evolution of languages generally. Thus a study of the formation of creoles might help shed light on processes of language change more generally, since the processes that lead to their genesis are by and large the same as those occurring in any variety of the language. The processes are essentially the same, although the outcomes - and crucially the way these outcomes are perceived - are very different. The ethnicity and cultural identity of the speakers involved in a language contact situation is key to the differentiation and tacit prejudice that underscores the labelling of English varieties.

English is generally expected to have changed relatively little in settings where descendants of its native speakers during the colonial days interacted intimately primarily among themselves and/or with other Europeans, as in North America, Australia, South Africa ... Where English came into contact with non-European languages, especially on the sugar cane plantations and rice fields where Creoles developed, or at the trade posts where pidgins emerged, it has been too easy to invoke “unnatural” or “nonordinary” developments.

(Mufwene 2001: 118, inverted commas in original)

These are important considerations, which warrant further investigation in light of the empirical research of the use of the language in ELF settings.

7.2.3 Social forces

Burnley (2000), in a detailed account of the development of modern English, highlights the transfer of English via the imperial expansion of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries as one among a number of influential factors that have been instrumental in effecting language change. Change has not only occurred in localized examples of divergence as indiginized varieties have become established; there has also been a returning influence on the language as used in ENL countries. A future historical account of English, if it is to

provide a thorough account of the full range of sources impacting on language change, might also need to include a discussion of the role that lingua franca developments may have by then played in shaping English in all its contexts of use. It seems, after all, to be a natural and logical extension of the process that began with the first colonially motivated expansions of the language from the sixteenth century onwards.

Burnley observes that the need for widespread standardisation, brought about by the expansion of education in the nineteenth century, exerted particularly strong force in the development of modern English. Not only is this arguably the most significant source of language change in the recent development of ENL varieties, it is also especially relevant to the discussion of linguistic developments in the use of English as a lingua franca. There is an interesting parallel here. A similar social force has been in operation in the latter part of the twentieth and early part of the twenty-first centuries, in that there is an important extension to the function of the language as a means of communication. Where in the past this force was the expansion of education in Britain and the development of industry nationally, which brought with it wider movements of population and a subsequent reduction in dialectal differences, it is now the expansion of international trade and commerce, and the need for a common code for use in international business, and various international forums in politics, education, professional organizations and so on. In both cases, in the nineteenth and late twentieth/early twenty-first centuries, for large sections of society the boundaries between social groups and language communities become more permeable, and contact between previously more distant and isolated peoples increases. In the case of ELF, this is simply on a different, more international scale. The principle, however, is the same.

In relation to the effects of these social forces on the development of modern English since the nineteenth century, and as a part of a discussion about the emergence of a standard variety, Burnley makes the following observation:

The study of English has always incorporated two distinct traditions and purposes. Indisputably the most familiar and widely followed is the pursuit of communicative effectiveness in the use of the language, both written and spoken [...] The student's purpose within this tradition is to achieve command of a kind of English to which no one can object, and by which the hearer will be both easily informed and readily impressed. It is a tradition which *prescribes* what may be judged as correct in spelling and grammar, and what is acceptable in aspects of style.

(Burnley 2000: 316-7, italics in original)

Although the point being made relates primarily to the prescriptive tradition that tends to be associated with the question of Standard English, and although ELF research is conducted from the perspective of providing a descriptive linguistic analysis, there are a number of issues in the above text that are of relevance to my research. If it is effectiveness of communication that is regarded as one of the driving forces (or justifications) behind prescribed language change, then anyone advocating prescriptivism should in future become especially interested in contexts where English is used as a lingua franca, where efficiency and effectiveness seem to be such important forces driving language use. It also seems reasonable, even logical, to equate contemporary ENL varieties with the social and geographical dialects of the nineteenth century. These can be regarded as localized versions of a language that is used predominantly for much wider intercultural communication. In turn, we can compare contemporary ELF forms, in terms of societal value, with the Standard English as approved by public schools and universities during the nineteenth century, as in future this is the type of English that should be given most currency internationally.

The parallel can be continued further. We can, in addition, relate the 'command of a kind of English to which no one can object' not to Standard English as spoken in minority contexts, but to lingua franca English as used by the majority of English speakers. In fact, it is these speakers who will have perhaps more reason to object to say, standard British English or standard American English on the grounds that these are not the dialects that will keep the hearer easily informed, or may well not be the dialects that represent what is acceptable in style. A catalyst in these kinds of broad social forces has often in the past been a particularly important technological advancement, such as the introduction and widespread distribution of William Caxton's printing press in the fifteenth century. The introduction of printing, and likewise the rise of the internet and the digitization of media in recent years, are both forces that have had an important bearing on the language, only on a different scale. In the first instance this was a more localized force that affected the use of English by its native speakers (at that time only numbering several million and all residing in England), while in the second the scope has been more global, extending beyond national boundaries and transcending the three circles of Kachru's model.

7.2.4 Lexis and semantics

Leith (1997) systematizes to some extent the question of changes in lexis, discussing at some length the relative roles that the different kinds of meaning (those listed are: *conceptual*, *connotative*, *stylistic*, *affective*, *reflected*, and *collocative* meanings) can play in the process of semantic change. It is noted that these are to a lesser or greater degree integrated with each other - language change may well be cited as originating primarily with one aspect of meaning, but this change will inevitably have an effect on the others. Perhaps of most relevance to the context of ELF usage, is the fact that connotative meaning can be particularly instrumental in bringing about semantic change. The word *sophisticated* is given as an example to illustrate how this process operates. Leith details how a shift away from the negative connotations of the word as it was used initially, that is, with the meaning of 'adulterated' or 'artificial', subsequently resulted in a shift in the conceptual meaning of the word. As the concepts of 'purity' and 'naturalness', previously valued by society as positive qualities, came to be interpreted in a more negative light and were associated more with notions of simplicity and naivety, the notion of adulterating is seen not as impairment but as positive modification. Thus the word *sophisticated* comes to be associated more with a positive concept, which leads to a radical shift in the nature of the referents denoted by the word. This can in turn of course lead to a difference in the way the word collocates, extending or reducing the collocational range accordingly, as also is the case with the word *chronic*, which through collocation with *pain* has come to be associated more with severity and intensity than with continuity (the sense of the word in medical register.)

There is a good deal of evidence provided in the literature on language change that suggests these processes are not infrequent in the history of English. Far from it, they appear to be particularly commonplace and a natural part of the continuing development of the language. If this is the case, it is only natural and inevitable that the situation will be no different for speakers of the language in its wider contexts. As soon as we acknowledge that language use in an ELF setting occurs in domains often far removed from L1 English contexts and thus necessarily serves the requirements of its speakers in that context and no other, and as soon as we regard those speakers as language users in their own right, it is only logical to acknowledge that the same processes of language change will occur. This is likely to mean that descriptions of newly emerging features in semantics and grammar will reveal similar motives of change as those mentioned above, resulting in turn in similar features of

variation and change as those cited in the literature on language change from an ENL perspective. In particular the connotative meaning seems likely to be prone to change in international contexts of English use, since connotation is closely tied to social and cultural factors.

7.2.5 Morphology

The literature also provides accounts of the morphological simplifications that took place as the language changed from middle English to modern English, where verbs and nouns began to lose their endings and the language became less synthetic. Although it may be difficult to know the underlying causes or to provide descriptions of the processes involved, we can consider the implications these changes have had on the rest of the linguistic system. ‘Simplification’ is a potentially misleading term and one that is likely to be associated with a sense that change renders the language more rudimentary and less sophisticated, whereas in reality there is no necessary loss in the language’s set of communicative resources. For example, on discussing the reduction in the system of inflectional morphology, Leith states the following:

The term which is used to denote this process - *simplification* – does not imply that generations of lazy speakers have merely taken innumerable short cuts in the grammar. The loss of case-endings, for instance, meant that other means had to be found for signalling relations among words in the sentence, since such endings had a syntactic function.
(1997: 98, italics in original)

What was lost in one area of the language was gained in another; in this case prepositions and word order rules would serve the functions previously provided by the inflections, thus ensuring that the system remains balanced and nothing is in fact lost. A further consequence of these morphological changes is the flexibility this affords with regard to word class, which for example enables nouns to function as verbs. Many examples of this process, described in 7.2.1 as conversion, are cited in the literature, such as the use of *impact* and *access* as verbs (Leith 1997: 100), and are deemed to be an increasingly common trend in recent usage.

The morphological history of English seems of particular relevance to ELF. The absence of the 3rd person ‘S’ on present simple verbs, or similar ‘simplifications’, such as the use of *who* and *which* as interchangeable relative pronouns, occur frequently in the data. It

seems reasonable to assume that these new forms represent a continuation of a process of change that began a long time ago. The process seems in a sense to be a natural one in that the language for whatever reason (and the original motivation is perhaps beyond our grasp) was destined to shift in that direction. It is difficult of course to account for the continued, and apparent anomalous, use of the 3rd person 'S' in standard varieties of English. There is little evidence to suggest why this process stopped short of eradicating other inflections. It does seem to be an oddity, however, when it serves no obvious communicative function and is for all intents and purposes a redundant feature. It is possibly the case that the process was halted by the introduction of published dictionaries and grammars from the eighteenth century onwards and the subsequent proliferation of a prescriptive tradition which arrested its development. The occurrence of present simple verb forms in regional dialects of English supports the view that a natural and ongoing process was partially interrupted by the elaboration of a standardized set of prestigious rules. Whatever the cause, such a seemingly uncommunicative feature as the 3rd person inflection does appear to be a remnant from an earlier time, dating back to a period in the history of English when the language was largely synthetic in nature, where person, case, and tense were marked by means of a complex system of inflections. In terms of justifying the inclusion of these simplifications in a description of ELF, the fact that there is such a precedent for similar changes in the development of L1 Englishes can only strengthen the case for regarding these features as characteristic.

Leith also points out that it is customary for language historians to account for changes in English verb morphology by citing the process of analogy, whereby new forms emerge as the result of the speaker assuming that two items follow identical patterns when in fact these patterns are only the same in some aspects. We can take as an example the irregular past simple and past participle verb forms of Standard English, where through analogy a speaker may produce say, 'knowed', assuming that since the verb follows the same pattern as 'show' in the present simple form, it will also follow the same pattern in past forms, which results in the speaker attaching the regular past 'ed' ending. We know from first and second language acquisition literature that analogy is responsible for a number of developmental features that occur during the acquisition process. Speakers will move through a number of stages of development, one of which will involve the temporary (over)-application of a pattern and hence production of a non-target like form. What happens with

the emergence of new items is that a particular analogy becomes widespread among a group of speakers until it establishes itself in a speech community and becomes widely accepted as the norm. In this case the analogy is not temporary and the feature remains. If we consider ELF settings as valid contexts of language use in their own right, then the same will occur, in other words if a large enough number of speakers are producing similar forms by process of analogy, it will no longer make sense, or be relevant to see these as developmental features, or fossilized errors.

Leith comments on the frequency of some types of analogy, as with the extension of a two-part tense pattern to verbs that in standard Englishes customarily follow a three-part pattern.³ Such is the case with *do*, *did*, *done*, where 'done' is frequently found in a number of non-standard English varieties as the past simple and participle form, as in *I done that yesterday*. It is in fact suggested that this phenomenon (Leith quotes examples from Jane Austen) was in the past as common in prestige uses of English as it is in contemporary non-standard speech. Only when simplifications of this kind became stigmatized by a prescriptive tradition were they no longer accepted, thus perhaps interrupting or at least slowing down a previous source of language shift. Morphological complexity is still associated with 'good' or 'proper' grammar, and valued in preference to a reduced system of inflexions.

7.3 Summary

In short, the sources and underlying causes of language change are many and varied. It seems that the processes involved have a long history and precedent in English. Studies into the nature of English language change are relevant to research aimed at describing and explaining ELF features in a number of ways. Firstly, the literature can provide the terminology and descriptive tools necessary to investigate language shift in a systematic way. The apparatus may need to be modified slightly to suit the specific purposes of this type of research, but nonetheless this represents a useful starting point and framework. Secondly, this literature embodies a firmly established academic discipline, with extensive theoretical discourse that identifies language change as a common, inevitable, ongoing phenomenon.

³ The literature contains descriptions of a wide range of processes that underlie the shaping of English historically. These warrant much closer investigation, and much broader discussion than is possible here. The study of processes such as 'extension' for example, and the role this has played in the development of the grammatical subsystems (e.g. Leith relates this particular process to the emergence of *do* as an auxiliary in questions) will no doubt help shed further light on the changes currently taking place to the language as used in international lingua franca settings.

This theory base is as relevant to variation in lingua franca contexts as it is elsewhere, and can thus provide support to any discussion which makes the case for a detailed description of language innovation in ELF. The position taken here therefore is that the processes of language shift described and explained in diachronic linguistics will be similar in essence to, and thus provide important precedent for a study into the nature of language changes as they continue to emerge in ELF interactions.⁴

Also of interest, cited in the literature are a number of general tendencies for language change, some of which are deemed also to be commonly shared by a number of different languages. Blake (1996) gives the example of phrasal verbs that have developed an intransitive use when these previously occurred only transitively, as with for example *cope with*, which as a phrasal verb requires an object, is in current usage possible as an intransitive simple verb *cope*. Similarly, reflexive verbs often lose their reflexive pronouns and become intransitive.⁵

Although explanations for the underlying causes of these tendencies may not always be possible, and although we may ultimately only hypothesize as to their motives, it is nonetheless the case that they are there to be noticed, recorded and described. Regardless of cause, the language seems in some areas inclined to shift in certain directions. Patterns of change in ELF in some cases may well parallel those identified in ENL and indigenised Englishes, as seems to be the case with the shift towards intransitivity of a number of transitive verbs. Conversely, the trend may be to move in a distinct direction. Blake, for example, comments on the recent trend for prefixes to be replaced by phrasal verbs. The use of phrasal verbs however is very often not consistent across different varieties: and in British, American, and Australian English phrasal verbs can vary quite significantly. This local variation, together with the fact that the meaning of phrasal verbs is often opaque and

⁴Jenkins (2006c) addresses the issue of intelligibility in a paper entitled 'Global intelligibility and local diversity: Possibility or paradox?' She points out, in arguments similar to those presented in this chapter, how there are certain crucial similarities (cf. Lowenberg 2002) between processes of language variation in the expanding circle and outer circle, resulting in an acceleration of changes that are already occurring, but more slowly, in ENL contexts. Underlying some of these changes is a natural tendency for regularization (Aitchison 2001, and see also my discussion of this phenomenon in chapter 5.3). This leads Jenkins to observe that language change, while leading to greater variation on the whole, can also result in an increased regularity in some areas of the linguistic systems across different varieties since the language is predisposed to change in certain ways.

⁵ There are numerous additional trends cited in the literature that will be worth further investigation, including among others: use of *ing* in place of *to infinitive* as a preferred object to a verb. A more thorough study of these items in ELF corpora may reveal interesting patterns and tendencies in this light.

particularly idiomatic, may mean a shift towards greater use of them becomes unlikely in contexts where the language is used for international communication. There may in fact be a reversal of the trend, with phrasal verbs being replaced by simple verbs and extended use of prefixes in ELF.

The idea that language is somehow predisposed to change, that changes are part of an ongoing pattern of shift in a certain direction is not new. McMahon (1994) observes that there have been a number of studies of syntactical change in this vein, commenting that language change can occur as part of a sequence of events that are internal to the language, or the result of syntactic 'drift' and language inherent characteristics. Similarly, Aitchison (2001) comments that in the systems of both phonology and syntax, changes can initiate apparent chains of events. McMahon goes on to consider the notion that language change may be explained by certain laws that determine the direction of change, here quoting Lakoff (1972) who identifies a common tendency among Indo-European languages to drift from being synthetic to being more analytic. Lakoff describes changes of this sort and magnitude as the result of a 'metacondition'.

McMahon, however, favours more functional explanations to account for sequential language shift, where certain natural tendencies as opposed to general laws give rise to change. This observation is based on a consideration of two syntactic drifts commonly discussed in the literature: these are the tendencies across a number of languages for a move towards word order consistency, where modifiers occur either to the left or the right of the phrase head in all linguistic constructions, and grammaticalization, where lexical items move from the syntax of a language to its morphology⁶. McMahon discusses linguistic typology and considers a number of the universal properties identified by work in this field (e.g. Comrie 1981, Greenberg 1963). Essentially, these universal properties can be deemed very often implicational, which is to say the existence of one property will most often predict the existence of another. In other words, properties tend to group together in languages, so that

⁶ Grammaticalization is the process by which content words such as nouns, adjectives, verbs, convert into form-based words such as prepositions and auxiliaries, thus losing some of their lexical content. McMahon cites examples from Spanish where full lexical forms have become bound morphemes, thus demonstrating how change may affect more than one level of a language, and how change on one level may initiate developments elsewhere in the system. In the case of the Spanish morphemes *ás* and *án* derived from the full verb *haber* and attached as verb endings to mark future reference, the change is at once syntactic, morphological, semantic and phonological in nature. This is an area worth exploring further in relation to current processes of change in lingua franca interactions, though is sadly beyond the scope of this thesis.

for example, as first proposed by Greenberg, languages whose sentence constituents follow the pattern SVO and VSO will employ prepositions, while those that follow the pattern SOV tend most often to have postpositions.

What is most significant to my discussion is the attempt to attribute implicational universals to syntactic change. With regard to this concept McMahon cites Lehmann (1973) and Vennemann (1975), who both consider the relevance of typology to changes in word order, linking the phenomenon of implicational universals to diachronic shifts in the syntactic properties of languages.⁷ McMahon goes on to consider the restrictions of such a claim, pointing out that a number of criticisms have been levelled at the theories proposed by Lehmann and Vennemann. These principally challenge the claim that sequential changes are causal and explanatory in nature, when in fact they may equally be seen as factors to be explained themselves.

Despite the lack of firm evidence for claims that there are common tendencies among large language groups for syntactic drift to occur in a certain direction, the above proposed explanations are still of interest to considerations of ELF. It is of course not the aim of this research project to provide any such evidence, nor to shed light on any debate regarding the underlying causes of widespread syntactic changes. It is beyond the scope of this research to provide a detailed analysis and discussion of the data from a diachronic perspective, or to contrast language shift in ELF with patterns of shift in other languages. Nevertheless it seems both necessary and of particular interest to take account of some of the theories that are proposed within such a framework. The discourse on the causal effects of syntactic change is relevant not for any particular explanation posited but for the observation, and the evidence that language shift is a common phenomenon and one that can occur in a patterned and systematic way.

The direction of language shift may not be entirely consistent or in any sense natural, and we cannot assume that change is in some way a natural progression or evolution in a particular direction. Indeed, as McMahon remarks, it is problematic to assume that once a

⁷ Vennemann (1975), for example, observed that Latin, commonly regarded as a SOV language, required a complex system of case morphology in order to distinguish between the neutral SOV pattern and a more marked OSV sentence. In SVO and VSO languages the object can be fronted thus topicalising this constituent, which would not be clear in an SOV language, thus necessitating the use of case marking on the S and O constituents in Latin. The theory suggests that as the morphology of Latin simplified, modern Latin derived Romance languages like French, Spanish, Italian needed to shift towards the SVO pattern they currently favour.

syntactic change has occurred this will then set off a chain reaction of events with the objective of realigning parameters to attain a greater sense of harmony since this would seem to imply that the changes are in some way destined to move in a certain direction, to progress until they reach a predetermined end point. For this reason, my view is not that language change occurs in a predestined way, but rather that, more moderately, certain aspects of the language lend themselves to change, that they are 'predisposed' to shifts in certain ways – ways that may well not be entirely predictable⁸. That patterns of change and common tendencies have simply been observed to occur in the literature is of most significance to a consideration of language use in ELF interactions. In addition to providing an important precedent, the discourse on diachronic changes helps to further establish a systematic framework within which to consider the nature of innovations in lexis, syntax and grammar to be observed in ELF data.

⁸ There are though some common trends in the ways in which changes diverge from ENL varieties. Trudgill (1999), for example, describes some of the 'idiosyncracies' in the grammar of Standard English when compared with other ENL dialects. These include, among others, the following:

- Failing to distinguish between the auxiliary and main verb forms for *do*.
- Unusual present tense morphology, where only 3rd person singular has the inflection.
- Irregularity in the formation of reflexive pronouns, with some forms, e.g. *myself* based on the possessive pronoun, and others based on the object pronoun, e.g. *himself*.
- Irregular forms for the verb *be* in the present simple and past simple tenses.
- Redundancy in the distinction between preterite and perfect verb forms with many irregular verbs, i.e. where the perfect form is marked twice, by the use both of *have* and the *-en* morph, as in *eaten*, *seen*, *taken* etc.

(Adapted from Trudgill 1999: 125-6)

Several of these can also be regarded as idiosyncratic when compared to the equivalent forms found in my data. This is particularly the case for instance where the L1 Standard English idiosyncracies involve elements of redundancy, as in the case of the 3rd person 's morpheme, and examples of irregularity.. In ELF it seems that a distinction may be emerging between *do* as an auxiliary and *do* as the main verb, where the auxiliary carries the 's morpheme and the main verb is realised with 3rd person zero (see chapter 4.2.1 for a thorough discussion). Some of the characteristic features of ELF thus have more in common with non-standard ENL dialects and nativized varieties than they do with the norms of L1 Standard English.

Chapter 8

Pedagogical implications of the research

8.1 Introduction

The implications of the current findings for English language pedagogy are wide-ranging and profound. In a landmark paper, Seidlhofer (2001) describes a 'conceptual gap' between discourse in applied linguistics, with its growth in meta-level discussions about the spread of English internationally, and on the other hand current practice in ELT, which remains largely unaware of, or if aware, almost entirely unaffected by developments in the academic debate. In order to bridge this gap Seidlhofer calls for systematic empirical studies into the use of English as a lingua franca. She argues that without research of this kind, current language teaching realities will continue to support a native speaker (NS) paradigm, and universally favour NS normative models regardless of context. Thus, if language teachers are to rely on a source other than the ENL varieties in the language classroom then very extensive research needs to be conducted in lingua franca settings in order to compensate for the lack of suitable descriptive and pedagogic models. As discussed at greater length in chapter 2, the empirical data gathered for this thesis contributes towards this research. The project was undertaken from the outset with the objective of addressing some of the pedagogical implications of the growth and diversification of English use in the world.

The meta-level discussions have continued to grow in recent years, and the spread of English worldwide has considerable currency as a topic of debate in applied linguistics, as well as, though to a lesser extent, in ELT publications. David Graddol for example has recently revisited the theme of his (1997) publication *The Future of English?*, once again assessing the position and status of the language globally, predicting in the (2006) volume *English Next* substantial changes in the ELT profession. In the interim period between these two British Council publications, interest in the topic has been steadily increasing, with a growing number of authors addressing the key issues of the debate regarding the learning and teaching of English. There are now several book length treatments of the impact of the spread of English internationally on language teaching (e.g. Holliday 2005, McKay 2002). This growing interest has also culminated in the theme of World Englishes and ELF being given a specially designated section in the 40th anniversary issue of *TESOL Quarterly*.

To what extent this heightened discourse has led to change in pedagogical practice however remains to be seen. In one of the papers in the *TESOL Quarterly* special issue, Jenkins (2006a) for example observes that scholars working within a World Englishes paradigm, especially those researching ELF, are essentially peripheral to most ELT oriented journals and conferences. Whilst acknowledging the continued interest in the topic in terms of academic discourse, Jenkins comments that much work still needs to be done at the theoretical level, let alone at a practical level, where key issues are still seldom fully addressed. Where these are taken into consideration they tend to be greeted at best with scepticism, and largely dismissed as irrelevant, or at worst are greeted with hostile resistance (see Jenkins in press for a fuller discussion). There are clearly many ways in which the current findings, and other empirical ELF data, represent implications for ELT, but equally clearly their practical implementation will be far from straightforward. This reality is explicitly reflected in the title of Holliday's (2005) book, *The Struggle to Teach English as an International Language*. The implications have been organised in this chapter according to the following principle themes: *syllabus content, language assessment, materials and teacher education*. I begin by considering the nature of the implications for each of these factors, and then turn my attention to the question of the current status quo in ELT and the more practical, as well as political, implications of implementing change in current practice. This latter part of the discussion involves a detailed consideration of attitudes towards language variation, and notions of Standard English. Finally, in a summary of the implications of my findings, I provide an overview of recommendations for implementing some initial changes in English language pedagogy (see table 8.2).

8.2 The language syllabus in ELT

There seems to be little awareness of linguistic diversity among many ELT practitioners. It is a widely held assumption that the most appropriate language model is broadly universally applicable. If we consider some of the more popular language focused resource books for the teaching of both lexis and grammar, it is clear that the language syllabus is almost exclusively based on either British English (BrEng) or American English (AmEng) norms. Perhaps the most readily available, most widely used pedagogical grammar in ELT, both in

the UK and in British Council schools worldwide, is Michael Swan's (2005) *Practical English Usage*.¹ The back cover of the book describes the new edition thus:

Practical English Usage is a dictionary of problem points in the language for foreign learners and their teachers. It answers the learner's question, 'Is this right or wrong, and why?' and the teacher's question, 'How can I explain this to my classes?' It gives information and advice that is practical, clear, reliable and easy to find. Most of the book is about grammar, but it also covers selected points of vocabulary, idiom, style, pronunciation and spelling.

(Swan 2005: back cover)

It is not my aim here to single out Swan's work for special criticism, but rather to illustrate to what extent the general consensus among ELT practitioners is to unquestioningly favour the NS model. The above resource book is in fact a very successful reference text for language teachers, and has provided generations of language teachers with practical solutions when it comes to making sense of English grammar and being able to present this in a coherent fashion to language learners.² I would like though to highlight how certain aspects of the above description are indicative of the general trend in mainstream ELT.

Firstly, the main focus of the book is to present language points which are somehow problematic, points that cause difficulty for learners and teachers alike. It is interesting to consider here just how much of the language teaching syllabus in ELT focuses on those aspects of the grammar that learners most often find difficult. A tremendous amount of time and energy seems to be expended on coming to terms with the 'difficult grammar'. The introduction to the latest edition of Swan's book identifies those areas of the grammatical system which learners tend to find most problematic. These include, among others, uses of the present perfect, problems with prepositions, such as when to use *in*, *at* or *on* when referring to location, and use of articles. In addition, some of the more idiosyncratic features of BrEng are described as important problems, such as the use of the past simple tense to

¹ Also very popular in ELT staffrooms and on ELT library shelves are: *An A to Z of English Grammar and Usage* (2001), Leech, Cruickshank and Ivanič, and *Grammar for English Language Teachers* (2000), Parrott. Both of these also take a largely monolithic view of English, which is implicit throughout the texts rather than explicitly stated in the preface or introduction.

² *Practical English Usage* was first published by Oxford University Press in 1980, and was reprinted some twenty-six times in this first edition. The second edition was first published in 1995, and ran to some sixteen impressions. This is clearly a highly successful teacher resource book, and one which continues to be favoured by individual language teachers, language teaching schools, as well as teacher training centres (it remains on the key reading list for practically all pre-service courses that lead to the Cambridge ESOL teaching qualifications).

express politeness. These aspects of the language are largely unimportant in terms of the semantic value they carry, and often involve a degree of communicative redundancy. The present perfect for instance varies significantly between different ENL varieties, and the distinction between indeterminate and definite past encoded in the present perfect and past simple is becoming unstable in a number of varieties. They are also the kind of language items, which if produced differently will result in the code having been ‘offended’, but without compromising communicative efficiency. It is also especially important to highlight that many of these aspects of the grammatical system are precisely those areas where accomplished ELF speakers are shown to produce innovation. For example, chapters 4 and 5 include a large number of attested cases where prepositions and the article system are being employed systematically and effectively, though often in ways which vary significantly from the established and more documented patterns in ENL.

It is especially commonplace for language teaching resources to focus on typical language ‘errors’ of this kind. Leech *et al* (2001) and Parrott (2000) similarly highlight many of the more typical areas of difficulty for the language learner, with sections devoted to examples of common learner error. A further characteristic approach to the syllabus that can be inferred from the above extract is the supposed importance of accuracy. A principal concern for the English language teacher is to help learners to sound more like a native speaker by ensuring they conform as much as possible to what would be considered ‘right’ or ‘wrong’ by an educated speaker in the inner circle. This is reflected in the titles of two widely used grammars, (Leech *et al* (2001), and Swan (2005), both of which describe *English usage*. The primary aim of these pedagogical grammars is thus to legislate about what is correct and acceptable (with no discussion of the sociolinguistics reality that this will vary according to context), and to warn learners and teachers about the most common likely mistakes. The resources are less oriented towards describing grammatical structures that will enable learners to communicate more effectively than they are towards describing areas of the system in which they need to show most caution to avoid sounding non-native like.

This emphasis on accuracy is also there in much of the most widely available texts in teacher education. There are several books dedicated to correction (e.g. Bartram and Walton 1991), to the analysis of learner error (e.g. James 1998), as well as entire chapters of introductory manuals on language teaching devoted to how teachers should approach grammatical and lexical errors in the classroom. Among the most popular teacher training

handbooks in ELT, Harmer (2001), Hedge (2000), and Scrivener (1994) all have sections devoted to the treatment of errors. In addition, the increased interest in cognitive approaches to second language acquisition has resulted in a large number of teacher resources on the question of 'noticing' in language learning (e.g. Thornbury 1999). Admittedly, many of these reference materials acknowledge the importance of errors in the language learning process, and many encourage a positive attitude towards language errors. Furthermore, becoming aware of learners' errors is of course a key practical concern of the language teacher, as is arguably the development of techniques for reformulating learner language, and effectively raising awareness in the learner of ways in which he or she might recast the language. However, in none of these sources is there a discussion of the importance of variation or linguistic diversity, and only relatively little attention paid to the possible effects of error on intelligibility and communicative effectiveness. The primary concern of these remains the issue of how best to deal with the learners' output, but not what to focus on exactly. The largely unspoken assumption is that teachers and learners should devote time and effort to dealing with correcting and reformulating output in ways which will make the learner sound more like a NS, or more 'natural'.

The syllabus of most UK published ELT student textbooks is similarly still predominantly organised according to grammatical structures. Although many authors and publishers of these textbooks highlight other aspects of the syllabus as important organising factors, the format of the books continues to be heavily influenced by the key grammatical structures that were largely determined by the hugely successful *Headway* series (Soars and Soars, e.g. 1986). Introductions to recent course book series tend to downplay these grammatical structures, and highlight other features, particularly what is usually described as 'naturally-occurring' lexis, especially collocation and fixed expressions (the significance of these in current practice will be discussed at length below as part of the discussion of methods and approaches). In addition, many course book writers highlight the thematic links of each unit or module, with an emphasis again on the lexical phrases and functional exponents that are judged to be appropriate to the theme. More recently still, in the very popular series *Cutting Edge* and *New Cutting Edge*³ the organisation of each module is oriented

³ This course book series is perhaps comparable to *Headway* in terms of popularity, and is fast replacing it for its status among ELT practitioners. It is not only widely available in British Council schools, and accredited schools around the world, it is also one of the preferred texts for observed teaching practice in CELTA and DELTA centres. In fact according to the website for this series, "Millions of teachers around

towards a central task, as defined by task-based approaches to language teaching (see e.g. Willis 1996 for a definition). Nevertheless, all of the most prominent recent publications intended for 'General English' studies, among them *New Cutting Edge* (Cunningham and Moor 2005), *Natural English* (Gairns and Redman 2002) and *Inside Out* (Kay and Jones 2001), include a very similar emphasis and relative weighting for the key grammatical structures. The following table shows the grammatical forms as listed in the contents pages of each of these books.

Table 8.1: Review of grammatical structures in EFL course book syllabuses

Unit / Module	Syllabus Content			
	<i>Headway</i> (1986)	<i>Inside Out</i> (2000)	<i>Natural English</i> (2002)	<i>New Cutting Edge</i> (2005)
1	Present Simple (1) Present Continuous	Question forms (main tenses, modals, and subject Vs object questions)	Question forms and question tags Present perfect and past simple (1)	Asking and answering questions Present simple and continuous
2	Present Simple (2) <i>Like doing Vs Like to do</i>	Present simple for routines Present continuous for temporary activities Present perfect (past with present relevance)	Comparatives and modifiers Superlatives Present simple and continuous	Past simple and continuous <i>Used to</i>
3	Past Simple Past Continuous	Past simple for finished time Vs Present perfect for unfinished time	Present perfect and past simple (2) <i>Used to + verb</i>	Comparatives and superlatives Phrases for comparing
4	Could you...? Would you...? <i>I'll... / Shall I...?</i>	Narrative tenses Comparatives Superlatives	Modal verbs, <i>would/ could/ might</i> , uses of <i>will</i>	Present perfect simple <i>For, since, ago</i> and present perfect continuous
5	<i>Will</i> <i>Going to</i>	Defining relative clauses <i>Used to / Would</i> for past habit	Obligation and permission	Future forms Future clauses with <i>if, when</i> etc.
6	<i>What's...like?</i> <i>What does he look like?</i> <i>How is he?</i> Comparative and Superlative adjectives	Passive voice Present perfect for recent events Irregular past verbs	Sentences with <i>if, when, unless</i> <i>-ing</i> form	<i>-ed/ -ing</i> adjectives The passive

the world appreciate *Cutting Edge* for its thorough, communicative approach".
www.longman.com/cuttingedge (accessed 10/10/06).

7	Present Perfect Simple	Future forms <i>Will</i> Vs <i>going to</i>	Verb patterns Present tenses in narrative Reporting verbs	Polite requests <i>Will</i> for offers and instant decisions
8	Must/mustn't/have to <i>Should/Shouldn't</i> <i>Don't have to</i>	Review unit	Present continuous and <i>be going to</i> + verb	Defining relative clauses Quantifiers
9	First Conditional Second Conditional Zero Conditional	Reported speech	First and second conditional	Making predictions Hypothetical possibilities with <i>if</i>
10	Can/can't/could/may age to/able to <i>Can/could/do you mind/would you mind...?</i>	Modals: Obligation, prohibition and permission	Articles and determiners Defining relative clauses	Past perfect Reported speech
11	Present Perfect Continuous	Modals of deduction	Passive forms Modal verbs of deduction	Obligation and permission in the present and past
12	Present Continuous <i>Might and Could</i>	Quantifiers Countable and uncountable nouns	Past perfect simple	Could have, should have, would have Imaginary situations in the past with <i>if</i>
13	Passive sentences Present Simple and Continuous; Past Simple and Continuous; Present Perfect; infinitives	'real' conditionals		
14	Reported Statements Reported Comments Reported and Indirect Questions	<i>Wish</i> + past simple 'Unreal' conditions		
15		<i>Wish / if only</i> + past perfect		

Although there are differences in the order in which the grammatical structures appear, these are often quite minor, and the overall shape and content for each course book syllabus is practically identical. The early chapters deal primarily with tense and aspect, focusing on differences in usage between *Present Simple Vs Present Continuous*, *Past Simple Vs Past Continuous Vs Past Perfect*, and *Past Simple Vs Present Perfect*. The later chapters focus essentially on conditional structures, uses of modal verbs, reported speech and passive voice. Other major structures include comparative and superlative adjectives, articles and phrases such as *used to*.

There is remarkable similarity in terms of the type of grammar presented and the extent to which the various items are prioritized in the language practice activities included in each book. Although the more recent publications organise the syllabus primarily according to topics and tasks, and tend to give more prominence to lexis, the grammatical content remains largely unchanged. The nomenclature is often (though not always) different in the new course books, but the overall composition of the language syllabus is fairly uniform and pretty much unchanged. It seems particularly striking that books spanning two decades of ELT materials publishing should display such a high level of similarity.

Furthermore, despite the impact in ELT of Hymes' (1972) notion of 'communicative competence' and our heightened understanding in contemporary applied linguistics of the importance of language as discourse, a good deal of the language input given on language teaching courses continues to be oriented towards isolated grammatical structures. As the above survey of recent textbooks shows, there is often a strong emphasis on the presentation and practice of those isolated structures which are deemed to be most 'problematic' and 'difficult' for the language learner. These are often precisely the elements of the language system that mark a speaker as belonging to a particular social group, whose function is more an indicator of identity and group membership than a feature of effective inter-group communication. Indeed, as Widdowson has stated:

The mastery of a particular grammatical system, especially perhaps those features which are redundant, marks you as a member of the community which has developed that system for its own special purposes. Conversely, of course, those who are unable to master the system are excluded from the community. They do not belong. In short, grammar is a sort of shibboleth.
(Widdowson 1994: 381)

In short, the language syllabus in ELT is almost entirely oriented towards presenting the lexical and grammatical items used by L1 English speakers in the inner circle. Language teachers rely exclusively on NS models, either BrEng or AmEng norms, with learners and teachers constantly deferring to the ENL speaker. The primary goal of many English language classrooms remains the imitation of native-speaker-like grammar and lexis, often with emphasis on accuracy and the eradication of non-standard forms, which are usually perceived unequivocally as 'errors'. It has also been argued that this often entails some degree of assimilation of NS cultural norms (see e.g. Cameron 2002, and Holliday 2005).

Among ELT practitioners, there is in fact little understanding of language variation in the inner and outer circles, let alone a consideration of language diversity among speakers in the expanding circle. This matter will be taken up further in section 8.6, which addresses attitudes towards language varieties.

In the context of ELF however, ‘mastery’ of the system (or perhaps better *systems*) needs to involve developing the ability to use the linguistic resources of English in an especially flexible way. The notion of inclusion in a lingua franca community should relate not to conformity to a predetermined set of ENL norms, but to a speaker’s ability to converge towards an interlocutor as the communication progresses moment by moment. This is very much in line with Jenkins’ findings with regard to the significance of phonological convergence and intelligibility.

Speakers assess moment by moment the extent to which their phonological output appears to be comprehensible to their interlocutor(s) [...] intelligibility is dynamically negotiable between speaker and listener, rather than statically inherent in a speaker’s linguistic forms.
(Jenkins 2000: 79)

The evidence gathered in this research project provides a very strong indication that ELF speakers similarly monitor lexicogrammatical output to ensure it is comprehensible and thus communicatively effective. Teachers and learners must therefore become more aware of the use of accommodation skills. Teachers need especially to develop an understanding that the flexibility to accommodate better ensures effective intercultural communication than proximity to a fixed set of grammatical norms. The main implications of empirical ELF data for the language syllabus are a shift in focus away from a set of predetermined linguistic norms, and towards a focus on items of lexis and grammar that are most often used by accomplished ELF speakers. And conversely, in ELF settings, failure to master this kind of flexibility in language use, and an inability, or unwillingness, to accommodate is what marks a speaker as an outsider to ELF.

8.2.1 Language assessment

The data also have far reaching implications for the way in which language assessment is carried out, both formatively in classrooms for the purpose of language development, and more formally in tests of proficiency. One important consequence of the data has to be the

realisation that evaluating effective language use is far more complex than it might at first appear. It is certainly not as straightforward as determining to what extent a speaker is able to adhere to a set of predetermined language norms, since so often in the corpus, language use is both variable and communicatively effective. It is therefore problematic to assess language learners simply according to accuracy, usually largely determined by the salience of 'errors' in their speech and writing. Furthermore, Jenkins (2006a) highlights the importance of redefining error in language assessment in light of what is known about English use in the outer and expanding circles. On the question of incorporating an ELF and a World Englishes perspective in testing, which Jenkins describes as one of the most important problems facing ELT practitioners, she says the following:

Solving this problem will involve devising the means to distinguish between learner error and local variety, thus enabling testers to recognise systematic forms from outer and expanding circle Englishes as correct where they happen to differ from inner circle forms. It will also involve finding ways of identifying accommodation, so that candidates are able to adjust their English for the purposes of showing solidarity with, or promoting intelligibility for, an interlocutor, without the risk of being penalised because their resulting speech does not defer to native speaker norms. (Jenkins 2006a: 174)

A significant aspect of the solution to the problem clearly involves an understanding of accommodation. This is unfortunately problematic within the existing framework of teacher training in mainstream ELT. Given the unchallenged status of the four-week intensive course as the primary means of pre-service training among NS teachers⁴, it seems

⁴ The four-week intensive course, especially as manifested in the CELTA (Certificate in English Language Teaching to adults) programme, is the most widespread form of pre-service training in the UK, and among British run organizations worldwide. It is also a highly valued teaching qualification in many contexts internationally, with a growing number of centres providing these courses. Its reach is far broader than this, however. My principle reasons for focusing on CELTA and DELTA (Diploma in English Language Teaching to Adults) - an in-service scheme designed within the same basic framework - are that although globally, teachers who enter the profession by other means far outnumber those who take these courses, the CELTA and DELTA are hugely influential in the profession. Although CELTA trained NS teachers are in a minority, their influence is disproportionately large. Many of the teachers who qualify by this means end up teaching in many different contexts internationally, and although they may be teaching in schools and colleges where locally trained staff will invariably have longer experience of teacher education (i.e. with degree qualifications in pedagogy, English language, philology etc.), the CELTA and/or DELTA qualified NS is assumed to have expert status. Furthermore, many CELTA providers have international programmes of teacher development, where an 'expert' from London, is sent to deliver short intensive courses in say Bogota, or Shanghai, to observe, assess and give advice on 'best practice' in teaching methods and approaches, and to do so mostly in contexts where they have little (if any) knowledge or experience of the local educational setting. (See also footnote 9, this chapter, for further comments on the scope and influence of these schemes.)

improbable that in the near future there will be sufficiently significant changes to the teacher education curriculum to allow for this level of awareness of the role accommodation plays in communication. This matter will be taken up further in section 8.4.

Leung and Lewkowicz (2006) in a review of research and developments in English language testing and assessment, comment that the debate concerning test authenticity is in their view the most relevant to ELT pedagogy. This is not, they point out, the simplified view of authenticity as stated in early accounts of the communicative approach (e.g. Morrow 1979), where authenticity was seen as inherent in the test and a matter only of simulating tasks that learners would be expected to perform outside classrooms, with no account taken of the test taker's involvement in the task. It is a rather more complex phenomenon which is not easy to describe in detail, and made all the more difficult by the increasingly heterogenous nature of those taking language tests. For Bachman and Palmer (1996), authenticity must include a consideration of the test task, the characteristics of test takers, and the domain of target language use, but as Leung and Lewkowicz point out, it can be very difficult to identify the domain of language use, especially given the globalization of English language, and the fact that norms are not easy to specify. The current situation with regard to language testing in ELT, however, might suggest on the contrary that determining domain and norms is straightforward.

Large scale proficiency testing, as administered for example by Cambridge ESOL, involves exceptionally standardized test formats and assessment criteria. In the so called main suite exams, FCE, CAE and CPE,⁵ learners sit five tests which carry equal weighting: one paper for each skill: reading, writing, listening, speaking, as well as a 'Use of English' paper. These exams are centrally administered and assessed. Candidates can enter the exams in authorised centres (there are currently 2000 centres in 135 countries), but the exam papers are all sent to the UK for assessment. Assessment of ELT is thus predominantly decontextualised, with candidates and examiners in the speaking test having to conform to a highly structured, entirely pre-determined set of tasks. In addition, the nature of the assessment is predominantly usage oriented, that is, students taking these tests are not so much tested on their ability to use language but on their ability to follow a set of (ENL) rules. Cambridge ESOL, for instance, describe 'Use of English' thus:

⁵ These are respectively, First Certificate in English, Certificate in Advanced English, and Certificate of Proficiency in English.

This paper requires you to demonstrate your knowledge and control of the language system by completing various tasks at text and sentence level. These include filling gaps, transforming words and phrases, and identifying errors in texts.
(www.cambridgeol.org/exams/fce.htm, accessed 13/10/06)

What is most important in this assessment is a candidate's 'control of the language system' (note use of the definite article) and ability to identify 'errors'. This takes no account of the variability of English, and no account of the context in which the language is used and/or tested. There is even less scope for awareness of individual learners and context sensitivity in IELTS (International English Language Testing System), another international proficiency test, in which learners are asked to perform a series of highly structured tasks, and in which testers are expected to read from a script.

Leung and Lewkowicz (2006) describe what they view to be the most important issues in the future development of language assessment, primary among which is, in their view, the continuing spread of English, particularly for lingua franca communication. They describe ELF as "a use- and context-driven phenomenon" (p. 229), and conclude that in the coming years this will require "a finer-grained discussion on greater recognition of use- and context-referenced language norms to accommodate both ELF and local varieties of English in some types of contextualized assessment of English" (*Ibid.*). For Leung and Lewkowicz authenticity in language assessment involves not only characteristics of the task, and the perceptions of the test takers, but also language variety and norms. In addition, Leung (2005) suggests a detailed, fundamental reappraisal of communicative competence. This all raises very important issues regarding the continued application of universal proficiency exams in ELT, which at present allows very little awareness (let alone acceptance) of ELF or a relevant local variety. Lowenberg (2000) comments at length on the continued acceptance of NS norms in proficiency assessment, describing the phenomenon as the result of "faulty assumptions that are widely held by many of the qualified professionals who administer tests" (p. 81). These assumptions, if anything, have in many settings been further cemented in recent years by developments such as the *Common European Framework of Reference* (CEF).

The CEF (Council of Europe 2001) provides a common basis for describing the competences language learners need to meet in order to communicate effectively in a second language. Luoma (2004) highlights how this can be implemented as a resource in language

teaching, observing that while the descriptors of language skills provided in the framework are general in nature, they can be used as the basis for creating detailed criteria for specific tests. Although clearly intended as a ‘framework’ and thus a means of providing a common frame of reference for a wide range of different specific contexts for language learning and language assessment, much of what is contained in the document can be interpreted as prescription. It is a centrally devised, hierarchical scheme, which ultimately treats learning and assessment in universal terms. The CEF does though outline the importance of multilingualism and plurilingualism, and highlights how these concepts have certain important practical implications for our understanding of language acquisition and for how we define language competence. On this matter, the text states the following:

From this perspective, the aim of language education is profoundly modified. It is no longer seen as simply to achieve ‘mastery’ of one or two, or even three languages, each taken in isolation, with the ‘ideal native speaker’ as the ultimate model. Instead, the aim is to develop a linguistic repertory, in which all linguistic abilities have a place. This implies, of course, that the languages offered in educational institutions should be diversified and students given the opportunity to develop a plurilingual competence.

(Council of Europe 2001: 5)

This, on the face of it, seems to be an important acknowledgement of the complex nature of multilingualism, and a significant move away from the native-non-native paradigm. However, this apparent questioning of the ‘mastery’ model is not much in evidence elsewhere in the document. In fact, the native-non-native construct is prevalent throughout the descriptions of learner competences (with 81 references to native or non-native speaker/language in the text)⁶. Many of the descriptions explicitly define proficiency, at both the receptive and productive levels, precisely in relation to an, ‘ideal native speaker’. The following represents a small sample of these.

Can interact with a degree of fluency and spontaneity that makes regular interaction with native speakers quite possible without strain for either party. (p. 24)

⁶ What seems most problematic about the CEF document is the absence of a distinction between English language learning and the study of Modern Foreign Languages more generally. The NS – NNS paradigm, as well as measuring language competence in relation to NS goals, may well be relevant in the teaching of say Italian, or Portuguese, since the purpose of learning these languages is far more likely to be oriented towards communication with NSs.

I have no difficulty understanding any kind of spoken language, whether live or broadcast, even when delivered at fast native speed (p. 27)

I can interact with a degree of fluency and spontaneity that makes regular interaction with native speakers quite possible. (p. 27)

... can sustain relationships with native speakers without unintentionally amusing or irritating them or requiring them to behave other than they would with a native speaker. (p. 35)

There are also numerous cases where a native speaker model is more implied, as in the following description of the range required at advanced level:

Also has a good command of idiomatic expressions and colloquialisms (p. 28)

This last example appears in the common reference levels for spoken language use, where descriptors are provided under the headings, *range*, *accuracy*, *fluency*, *interaction* and *coherence*. Although competence is therefore defined according to a range of communicative skills, reference to control of grammatical structure and avoidance of errors seems particularly prominent in the descriptors. The following is again a small sample of those provided in this part of the document (see appendix F for the complete table of reference levels for spoken language).

Maintains consistent grammatical control of complex language

Consistently maintains a high degree of grammatical accuracy; errors are rare, difficult to spot and generally corrected when they do occur

Shows a relatively high degree of grammatical control. Does not make errors which cause misunderstanding, and can correct most of his/her mistakes
(*ibid.* p. 28)

Furthermore, the data presented in this thesis would also suggest quite strongly that there is a potential contradiction inherent in this type of framework. This, as we have seen repeatedly, is because interaction can most often be assessed to be effective when speakers accommodate towards their interlocutor, often in ways that may involve variations on established norms. Thus, for a speaker to be communicating very successfully, this might involve the production of certain 'errors' and 'mistakes' (see appendix F for the prominence of these words in the framework) that are the result of mutual convergence. An assessor

could choose to reward this accommodative behaviour and value it as an important communicative skill, but research in language assessment suggests otherwise. McNamara (1996), for example, reports findings that suggest examiners are influenced more by grammatical accuracy than any other factor when assessing language use.

Language assessment in ELT tends to be very much concerned with prescription and proscription regarding ENL norms, and the goal of learning and teaching to be defined according to avoidance of difference. The general attitude to learner language and to 'errors' in language teaching is clearly encapsulated in the title of an influential book in the field, *Learner English: A Teacher's Guide to Interference and Other Problems* (Swan, Smith and Ur 2001). This text is very prominent on reading lists for pre- and in-service teacher training programmes, and in my experience is a very popular source among trainers and trainee teachers. There is no mention in this text of the use of accommodation in spoken communication, and 'learner language' is cast only in a very negative light. As well as having implications for the relative importance attached to the traditional items of the grammatical syllabus, the importance of flexibility and mutual convergence in ELF settings, suggests that there need to be significant changes in current language teaching approaches.

8.3 Teaching materials and resources

Emphasis in ELT, as a result of large-scale ENL corpus studies such as CANCODE and COBUILD⁷, is continually placed on descriptions of 'natural' English. In light of the findings of ELF data though, we need to completely reconsider the emphasis on corpus-based material. Teaching materials often make claims regarding the extent to which they present learners with 'real' and 'natural' English. Implicit in much of the recently published ELT material, is the assumption that what is real or natural for a speaker in one setting will automatically be so in another. As the vocabulary sections of student course books are primarily based on ENL corpora, the setting presumed to be the universally applicable one is primarily monolingual L1 English. The realness and naturalness of any language item being presented as useful and necessary is in each syllabus based solely on the frequency of lexical

⁷ CANCODE (Cambridge and Nottingham Corpus of Discourse in English) is a computerized database comprising 5 million transcribed and coded words of spoken discourse. The COBUILD 'Bank of English' project at the University of Birmingham is a corpus of several hundred million words of written and spoken texts of British, American, Australian and Canadian sources.

items as they occur in NS-NS communication.⁸ Not only is the data generally taken from NS-NS interactions, the setting is also very often limited to interactions that take place in narrowly defined contexts. It is therefore highly questionable whether these resources are suitable for the teaching of a language whose role is predominantly as an international lingua franca. If these textbooks were produced uniquely for a UK market, to be distributed and consumed in language schools in this country, the situation might be a little more tenable. This however is categorically not the case. If we consider the most popular publications to be produced in recent years, all of them have been marketed and distributed very widely in Europe, South America and Asia. We need to become much more aware of the limitations of such an approach to materials production in the wider context of English.

As a result of the impact of ENL corpus findings, student course books as well as student and teacher reference books are often marketed for their adherence to ‘real’ and ‘authentic’ language use. Below is a select sample of some of the claims made by the more popular resources currently available to English language learners and teachers.

“Knowing strong and frequent collocations is essential for accurate, natural English”

(*LTP Dictionary of Selected Collocations*)

“... a strongly lexical syllabus, presenting and practicing hundreds of natural expressions which students will find immediately useful”

(*Innovations*. Dellar, H. and D. Hocking. LTP)

“helping learners with real English”

(COBUILD Learners’ Dictionary. Collins. Emphasis in original)

“There’s an emphasis on how to use real language”

(*Natural English*. Ruth Gairns, R. and S. Redman. Oxford University Press.)

(Emphasis in original)

All of the above phrases appear very prominently on the front or back covers of the respective books (indeed in the last case the word ‘natural’ appears in the title). The data

⁸ Although there are several course book series that are not based solely on NS corpora, in these cases the syllabus tends to have been informed by learner corpora, which are primarily aimed at identifying ‘problem areas’ that English language learners have, or ‘errors’ they tend to produce. This is true for example of the very extensively promoted *face2face* series, published by Cambridge University Press (2005). At the time of writing in fact there are no student or teacher resources published in the UK that are based on corpus data specifically gathered from interactions involving only L2 English speakers.

presented in this thesis indicates very clearly that what is natural or real for one speaker may be quite ‘unreal’ for another. Given the degree of variation across ENL varieties of English, let alone the extent to which the language varies outside inner circle contexts, ‘naturalness’ as a concept is very context sensitive. For example, much of what might be frequent in a British English corpus is likely not to be so frequent in a corpus of American English and vice versa. Quite simply, what is regarded as natural or real by an individual speaker in any context, may be entirely inappropriate and, more to the point, ineffective in another. It seems that writers of corpus-based material regard ‘real’ English as something that exists outside social contexts, that exists as a unitary form regardless of setting. Widdowson (2004) makes an essential point in this regard, stating that corpus findings can tell us a lot about frequency counts for example, but do not normally tell us much about the nature of the speech setting in which an item has occurred.

We also have to consider whether or not the kinds of expressions these materials present are immediately (or even whether at all) useful to most learners of English. Below are a few examples of the expressions presented in Unit 1 of *Innovations*.

She wouldn't say boo to a goose

She's an absolute hoot

Oh, I just heard it on the grapevine

He's fifty if he's a day

This is an advanced level course, and one that is relatively widely used in English language schools in the UK. We can therefore assume that a good number of learners being exposed to this material may well encounter such expressions outside the classroom, and that some of these students may even find them useful for their own purposes. However, the book is not exclusively used in this context; it is also widely available in language schools outside the UK. Therefore, presumably for a lot of the students and teachers using this resource, these expressions are most likely to be quite distant and alien to their purposes. The phrases are particularly idiomatic, and rather culture specific, and would likely seem very out of place in interactions that take place outside of most (and probably also inside many) native speaker contexts. There is also an important issue regarding intelligibility. There were only very few occasions in the ELF data where communication broke down and mutual intelligibility was lost. Most often, this was either the result of extralinguistic factors such as external noise and

interruptions, or where the cause was linguistic in nature, it was almost exclusively the result of what Seidlhofer (2001) describes as unilateral idiomaticity. This can be illustrated in the following two extracts, which are both taken from my data (T2 and T5 respectively).

T2 (line 113-117)

Yoori (Y) – L1 Korean

Nathalie (N) – L1 French

- Y: (...) hmm (.) what do you do in your free time?
 N: in my free time? er: i like erm (.) i like chilling out
 Y: hmm?
 N: doing nothing
 Y: aah

T5 (line 23-29)

Nathalie (N) – L1 French

Chie (Ch) – L1 Japanese

- Ch: yeah (.) hmm (.) erm: what's- are you doing hmm in your free time?
 N: ah my free time? well er i like spending my free time erm (..) first of all chilling out
 Ch: what sorry?
 N: chilling out (.) @@ er i like doing nothing and er only putting
 Ch: ah
 N: my feet up and relaxing (.) and reading as well
 Ch: yeah

In both exchanges Nathalie, an L1 French speaker who had lived in London for about 6 months at the time of the recording, uses a phrasal verb common among young speakers of British and American English, *chill out*, meaning 'relax' (apparently used to refer especially to relaxation after energetic dancing at a rave, CED).

In the first exchange Nathalie uses the expression with an L1 Korean speaker, and then quickly rephrases her meaning with the semantically more transparent 'doing nothing' when her interlocutor appears confused. In the second extract, this time with an L1 Japanese speaker, Nathalie tries the idiomatic phrase again, here repeating 'chilling out' a second time in the hope that the speaker will this time follow her meaning. The first utterance of the phrase is preceded by a comparatively long pause, and the second is followed by laughter (@@), suggesting that this speaker has become aware of the potential communicative difficulty of this idiom, but nonetheless still would like to try it out. As in the previous case, use of this idiomatic phrase leads to a momentary loss of mutual intelligibility, interrupting

the flow of communication, and again a repair is necessary to restore it. The presentation of semantically opaque idioms in classrooms needs to be undertaken with caution, especially if the purpose of the language learning is to use English as a means of wider international communication with speakers from a variety of cultural and linguistic backgrounds.

In contrast to the idiomaticity of the phrases presented in Unit 1 of *Innovations*, the recent course book *Natural English* adopts a slightly different, more measured approach to teaching fixed expressions. In the introduction to the teacher's book for this series, Gairns and Redman (2002) point out that in designing the course, they had originally intended to record and compare native speakers and non-native speakers performing the tasks being piloted for the student's book. They then report, much to their credit, that they subsequently realized that a NS model would not necessarily lead to the most suitable language syllabus, because speech was often too idiomatic or idiosyncratic, and therefore did not represent an achievable goal for intermediate learners. Instead, more advanced 'learners' were recorded in order to provide a language model from which to formulate the syllabus. Thus, unlike most published ELT material, the language syllabus is not based solely on NS usage, but rather assumes an accomplished and skilled non-native speaker as a legitimate model for language learning (at least at the intermediate level).

Gairns and Redman discuss the importance of degrees of idiomaticity in deciding on which lexical items to present, and provide examples of expressions that are to a greater and lesser extent semantically opaque or transparent. They compare the following two lists of idiomatic expressions:

He's got a finger in every pie

She's full of beans

When all's said and done

They're as thick as thieves

He's changed his mind

I'll let you know

We've got nothing in common

Did you have a good time?

Clearly, the first of these lists contains expressions that are more idiomatic than those in the second. While both contain 'natural' English usage (or to quote COBUILD, 'real' English), Gairns and Redman point out that from a learner's perspective use of the more opaque, often more picturesque language of a NS would be rather unnatural. For once, materials writers have questioned the assumption that NS usage will automatically be of use to the L2 speaker, casting doubt on the relevance of certain aspects of L1 English to settings where

the language is being spoken for the purpose of international communication. Many of the idioms in the left hand column represent entirely isolated metaphors, phrases that are not related to any other expressions of meaning in the language. To take the second example, there is for instance no discernible correspondence between feeling energetic and the properties of beans, and so it is entirely unsurprising that this phrase is a one-off isolated expression. In other words, we do not make a habit of conjuring up images of beans or other foods to describe moods and feelings, which makes it all the more idiosyncratic and unsuitable for ELF communication, just as 'chilling out' proved to be so ineffective in my corpus.

This type of idiom can be contrasted with those in the second column, in which meaning is not only more transparent, but also (and in part this is a consequence of that transparency) more generalizable. These often represent areas of metaphor rather than isolated idioms, with an underlying semantic value, which while to some extent idiomatic is also discernible and traceable in other similar phrases. The extent to which the more opaque phrases, often favoured by materials writers, as well as learners and teachers, are teachable and learnable is therefore questionable. Learners can surely only store so many memorized expressions for these to then remain unanalysed in the mental lexicon. An important process in language learning involves the subsequent analysis of previously stored unanalysed phrases, thus enabling the learner to apply the patterns and rules abstracted from this analysis in the production of novel utterances. Indeed as Nattinger and DeCarrico have observed:

One common pattern in language acquisition is that learners pass through a stage in which they use a large number of unanalyzed chunks of language in certain predictable social contexts. They use, in other words, a great deal of 'prefabricated' language. Many early researchers thought these prefabricated chunks were distinct and somewhat peripheral to the main body of language, but more recent research puts this formulaic speech at the very centre of language acquisition and sees it as basic to the creative rule-forming processes which follow.

(Nattinger and DeCarrico 1992: xv)

The essential point Nattinger and DeCarrico make, is that the holophrastic learning of unanalysed chunks represents only an initial step in the acquisition process. This first process is then followed by a subsequent stage where the chunk becomes segmented, thus enabling the learner to acquire the rules of syntax. A phrase which has been learned as a formulaic

routine needs to be analyzed into its separate and moveable component parts for the process to be complete. Language learning thereby takes place by means of both an 'item-learning' stage, and a 'system-learning' stage (Cruttenden 1981). There has, however, been such an emphasis in recent ELT practice on the importance of formulaic phrases, particularly on pre-service training courses such as CELTA and the Trinity Cert TESOL, it is my belief that there is a very real risk of teachers focusing exclusively on the chunks without realising the importance of the underlying patterns. This is especially problematic given that the sources of many of these language chunks are ENL corpora, and the trend in materials publishing for highlighting especially those phrases that are most idiomatic. The more idiomatic the phrases are, the greater the risk it seems to me that they will be merely what Hakuta (1974) described as 'unvarying chunks' as opposed to prefabricated 'patterns', and therefore of less interest pedagogically. Indeed, as Nattinger and DeCarrico also point out, idioms are generally speaking "complex bits of frozen syntax" which are largely isolated from "regular phrases constructed from the generative rules of grammar" (1992: 33).

This does not though deny the importance of prefabricated language to second language teaching. As Nattinger and DeCarrico go on to point out, idioms are just one kind of prefabricated language use. Much of the other formulaic phrases commonly found in everyday usage, consist of much more flexible sequences, where an individual phrase is just one of a large set of possible variations, with the phrase acting as a 'frame' containing 'slots', which can be filled in a number of ways. In this way analysis of the frame can lead to the rule-forming aspects of the language. It is therefore essential that materials writers and language teachers become aware of the flexibility of a given lexico-grammatical phrase, and make informed decisions about which phrases to present in the classroom with regard to degree of idiomaticity and the potentiality of a phrase for segmentation into analyzable syntactic components.

Similarly, Widdowson (2004) raises fundamental questions about the supposed importance in ELT of 'real' language as attested in ENL corpora. This is in relation to both purposes and processes of language teaching. In terms of purposes the issue is whether and to what extent ENL usage is relevant as a model for L2 learning given the role of English as an international lingua franca. In terms of processes, that is, with regard to the capacity of language samples to lead to language learning, Widdowson observes that:

...the process will only be served if students can be induced somehow to infer what the samples exemplify, or otherwise they are simply being rehearsed to produce fixed phrases.

(Widdowson 2004: 365)

This is precisely the risk of promoting fixed phrases to such an extent, namely that teachers will overlook the importance of inferring what is exemplified by language which students are exposed to. This ties in very significantly with the current situation regarding teacher education in ELT. The continued hegemony of the four-week intensive pre-service course, particularly as manifested in the CELTA scheme, means this is a very likely scenario for a large number of language teachers. The intensive nature of the course means that there is precious little time in the syllabus for input focusing on language awareness. Showing teachers how fixed phrases can be taught as a means of enabling learners to communicate their intended purpose in ritualised settings is a convenient way of reducing this burden, a way of further limiting the amount of language knowledge given on the course. This is arguably just one of the many conditions which allow the CELTA to continue to be packaged and marketed as a product of globalization⁹. This and other related issues will be taken up further in the following section, which deals with the implications of the data for teacher education.

Thus, in addition to the question of appropriateness of ENL corpora in ELT materials, the current fixation with corpus-based material presents important issues with regard to language acquisition. Widdowson (2003) points out how it has often been assumed that descriptions of the language, as provided by corpus linguistics for example, will automatically transfer into learning objectives in the language classroom. He challenges this assumption, recognising the valuable insights provided by corpus-based descriptions of English, but at the same time questioning the pedagogic claim that these will automatically

⁹ The extent to which this scheme is globally marketed is perhaps best illustrated by quoting from the Cambridge ESOL website: "CELTA courses are designed by individual centres, based on specifications produced by Cambridge ESOL. They are available at over 286 approved centres in 54 countries, providing almost 900 CELTA courses every year." (www.cambridgeesol.org/teaching/celta.htm) (Accessed on 21/09/06). This amounts to a staggering 9000 plus teachers per year entering the profession through this means, primarily with no previous training or teaching experience. Roberts (1998) reports that it is estimated that between 1962 and 1996 30,000 teachers had taken the intensive short course/ CTEFLA (as it was then known) in International House centers alone. The cost of the CELTA at International House London is at the time of writing £1,195.00 for the full-time four-week programme, which provides some indication of the financial scale of this multi-million pound enterprise, and the extent to which the design and nature of these programmes are profit oriented.

help learners learn the language. Essential to this challenge, is the distinction Widdowson makes between English as ‘object’, that is, attested use of the language as recorded in corpora, and English as ‘subject’, as content in a language learning syllabus. He observes that:

There must, obviously, be *some*, relationship between the language subject we teach and the object language people actually use, but [...] it cannot be one of direct determination. It is a relationship that has to be mediated.
(2003: 94. Italics in original.)

This mediation will involve the design of a syllabus and materials that are relevant to the context of learning. Where learners are studying English in settings traditionally defined as EFL (i.e. largely in expanding circle countries), this will need to involve mediating corpus findings to best suit the purpose of communicating in English internationally. For this to be most successful in terms of informing pedagogical practice, this should primarily include a consideration of international corpora, especially those oriented towards describing not ‘learner English’, but those which define the participants as ELF ‘users’ (e.g. ELFA, VOICE, and the corpus described in this thesis).

One of the criticisms Widdowson makes is that we cannot assume that frequency equates with significance. He demonstrates this by analysing some of the lexical content of a British newspaper article, showing how some of the more infrequent words (many of which do not appear in corpus based reference materials), are often the most crucial in terms of their ‘pragmatic weight’, and their ability to convey affective meaning and thus have a desired effect on the reader. In ELT currently there is something bordering on an obsession with authentic texts. But as Widdowson goes on to argue, unless textual material is appropriately related to context, it cannot serve any useful pedagogic purpose, since it will simply remain ‘inert’, an isolated stretch of language disconnected from any real discourse, just as much as any entirely invented sentence would be. Cook (1998) raises similar issues, and warns against overstating the importance of corpus findings. He observes that while corpora can offer important insights into the use of language in written and spoken texts, they are not the only valid source of information about language, and are ultimately no more than records of language production. They therefore do not necessarily tell us anything about the representation of language in the mind, nor how language might be organized for teaching purposes. Cook’s arguments are given in a response to Carter (1998), and represent one of a

number of debates in this area (Seidlhofer 2003 in fact presents this as one of the major controversies to have emerged between scholars in applied linguistics). The issues raised in these debates are of course just as essential for materials that might in the future be based on ELF corpora. The descriptions provided by these corpora need to be presented to the learner in such a way that the typicality of the linguistic features being recorded may be properly inferred by the teacher and the learner. This needs to happen in such a way that the language samples provided can be 'authenticated' as discourse, that is, can be made real in a given classroom context in such a way that this would be of benefit for the relevant language learning purpose and process.

Furthermore, there is a key issue here regarding the nature of language learning. Presenting learners with samples of language as attested in a corpus of naturally occurring text might be considered sound pedagogy in that this allows exposure to certain fixed phrases. However, if the learner's language knowledge is to develop further, the memorization of phrases ultimately needs to lead to generalization. Learners need to be able to infer from a particular fixed chunk of language how this forms part of a patterned system. They must then be able to use this knowledge of the pattern to produce utterances not previously encountered. One of the dangers of relying heavily on materials derived from corpus findings is that learners end up being able to produce a limited set of largely formulaic routines.

8.4 Teacher education

A distinction is often made in teacher education between *training*, *education*, and *development* (e.g. Wallace 1991). In this frame of reference, 'training' consists largely of equipping teachers with the essential procedures and practical techniques required for the classroom, and in an extreme interpretation gives very little emphasis to underlying rationale or principles. The primary focus is on imparting received wisdom about best practice, largely by means of a 'craft-based' model (Wallace 1991, Roberts 1998). Teacher 'education', on the other hand, can be defined as more broadly based, with prominent theoretical underpinning. There is no sense of ready-made solutions to a problem, and less emphasis is placed on practice and the 'mastery' of techniques. What matters most is discussion of the underlying principles that can inform a teacher's decision making. Finally, teacher 'development' refers to the longer-term personal and professional enhancement of teacher knowledge and

practice, where teacher learning is primarily self-directed and educators adopt a 'reflective approach' (Schön 1983). Teacher development is concerned more with the ownership of ideas, and the collaborative, non-hierarchical sharing of experiences involving both peers and supervisors. It is my view, based on the experience of 15 years as an ELT practitioner, and the last 5 of these as a teacher educator and assessor, that the dominant paradigm in Western language teacher education is predominantly craft based, directive and training oriented. This is in part at odds with the implications of my research findings for teacher education (I will continue to use 'teacher education' in the general sense throughout this section).

By far the most influential programmes of teacher education in mainstream ELT are the CELTA¹⁰ and DELTA schemes operated by Cambridge ESOL. The CELTA syllabus comprises 5 units. These are 1, *Learners and Teachers and the Teaching and Learning Context*, 2, *Language Analysis and Awareness*, 3, *Language Skills*, 4, *Planning and Resources for Different Learning Contexts*, and 5, *Developing Teaching Skills and Professionalism*. The DELTA syllabus is very similarly organised into 6 component parts: 1, *Understanding, Knowledge, and Awareness of Language*, 2, *The Background to Teaching and Learning English at Adult level*, 3, *Resources and Materials*, 4, *Working in the Classroom; Evaluation*, 5, *Monitoring and Assessment*, and 6, *Professional Development*. The overall structure of the programmes as specified by Cambridge ESOL is largely the same for both qualifications. The labelling of each component is slightly different for each scheme, reflecting the difference in level of knowledge and previous teaching experience of the participants in each course. The key elements of assessment however are primarily equivalent, that is both syllabuses are designed to evaluate language awareness, classroom teaching skills, planning and materials preparation, professional development, and awareness of the contexts in which English learning and teaching take place.

In relation to my research it is this last aspect of the syllabus that is of most interest, details of which are given below:

CELTA syllabus overview (Unit 1)

- 1.1 Cultural, linguistic and educational backgrounds
- 1.2 Motivations for learning English as an adult
- 1.3 Learning and teaching styles

¹⁰ The acronym has remained as CELTA (previously, Certificate in English Language Teaching to Adults) despite the actual name of the qualification being changed in 2005 to "Certificate in Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages". This perhaps gives some indication of the extent to which this programme is primarily a commodity rather than educational activity.

- 1.4 Context for learning and teaching English
 - 1.5 Varieties of English
 - 1.6 Multilingualism and the role of first languages
- (*CELTA Syllabus and Assessment guidelines*. Cambridge ESOL, 2006: 6)

DELTA syllabus overview (Unit 2)

- 2.1 The educational context and cultural impact of ELT
 - 2.2 The history and development of language teaching to adults
 - 2.3 Major theories of language learning and acquisition
 - 2.4 The contexts within which learning and teaching take place
 - 2.5 Designing teaching programmes to meet the needs of adult learners in different contexts
 - 2.6 Implementing teaching programmes to meet the needs of adult learners in different contexts
- (*DELTA Syllabus and Assessment guidelines*. Cambridge ESOL, 2006: 4)

This component of the syllabus is perhaps the element of the programme that has undergone most change in recent years, especially in the case of the CELTA. This can be illustrated by contrasting the current syllabus guidelines with those of earlier publications of this document, for instance as specified below.

CELTA (2001) syllabus overview (Unit 2)

- 2.1 The adult learner's educational background and traditions
 - 2.2 The context for learning and teaching English at adult level
 - 2.3 Different motivations for learning English as an adult
 - 2.4 Different learning and teaching styles at adult level
- (*CELTA Syllabus and Assessment Guidelines*. UCLES, 2001: 4)

In more recent editions of the syllabus guidelines (2003, 2006), the unit dealing with the learning and teaching context has been shifted, becoming Unit 1, where previously it was Unit 2, which likely reflects a change at Cambridge ESOL in the perception of its importance. More significantly, it has been expanded from 4 to 6 items, and now includes 'Varieties of English' and 'Multilingualism and the role of first languages'. The addition of these syllabus items, at least in terms of the specification of the course if not in practice, is a step in the right direction and to be welcomed.

These recent developments in the syllabus coincide with the growing discourse in ELT oriented publications (e.g. Graddol 1997, Widdowson 2003) that deal with the use of

English internationally. There has also been a growth in the awareness of local contexts in language teaching, and the importance of defining both the goals and methods of pedagogy locally rather than centrally and hierarchically (e.g. Canagarajah 1999, 2005, Ferguson 2006, Pennycook 2001). This shift in attitudes has no doubt started to filter through in very centrally devised ELT activities and organisations, including of course Cambridge ESOL. We thus see the beginnings of the impact this has on current practice in ELT, as attested for instance in the changes to the syllabus of the most influential teacher training programmes worldwide. Yet, if we consider the nature of these programmes the question still remains as to what extent developments at the level of discourse can bring about change at the practical level in English language classrooms. It is worth considering here some of the aims of the teacher training programmes, as described by Cambridge ESOL. According to the introduction of the current syllabus guidelines:

The course enables candidates to:

- acquire essential subject knowledge and familiarity with the principles of effective teaching
- acquire a range of practical skills for teaching English to adult learners
- demonstrate their ability to apply their learning in a real teaching context

Candidates who complete the course successfully can begin working in a variety of ESOL teaching contexts around the world.

(*CELTA Syllabus and Assessment Guidelines*. Cambridge ESOL, 2006: 3)

There is a certain contradiction inherent in these objectives. On the one hand, the course is aimed at preparing teachers for a variety of different teaching contexts. On the other, the way the scheme is structured those principles of effective teaching deemed to be 'essential' are centrally defined and subsequently prescribed. This largely hierarchical overall setup is also reflected in the following explanation of the DELTA programme.

The specification does not set out a repertoire of prescribed procedures or techniques for language teaching; it is intended to establish a framework within which centres can run courses which will enable candidates to develop awareness, understanding and skills appropriate to working with a wide range of learners in a variety of contexts.

(*DELTA Syllabus and Assessment Guidelines*. Cambridge ESOL, 2006: 2)

This is a key defining principle of the Cambridge ESOL teacher training qualifications: the overall framework is stipulated centrally by Cambridge in the interests of maintaining common standards of practice, but individual centres are given ultimate control over the

implementation of this framework on actual training courses. There is some freedom therefore, but also further centralized regulation, as each CELTA course is visited by an approved Cambridge ESOL assessor who is responsible for writing a report and making recommendations to the center about the design and delivery of the training offered. Similarly, the DELTA scheme involves further central regulation as each individual candidate must give one 60-minute lesson which is externally assessed by an approved assessor. In addition, in DELTA the candidates also sit a written examination, which is sent to Cambridge for assessment, and in both schemes all participants submit a portfolio of lesson plans, materials, and written assignments, a selection of which are sent to Cambridge for moderation purposes.

So, while there is a semblance of decentralization and an awareness of local context, at least at the rhetorical level, ultimately these two teacher training courses are centrally defined and regulated. This is in fact essential for their continued economic success and continued influence internationally. Both the CELTA and DELTA programme, like other ELT activities more generally, support huge vested financial interests. Any change in attitude, particularly where this is perceived to represent a threat to the current state of affairs, is bound to be tempered by the primary stakeholders' desires to protect these interests. And although there has been a move towards 'postmethod' practices described in some pedagogical literature (e.g. Kumaravadivelu 1994, Prabhu 1990), there is still an underlying mood in many of the mainstream ELT programmes of teacher education for a 'best method' (Cf. Sheen's 2003 discussion of myth-making with regard to supposed best practice in ELT), which is determined centrally and recommended universally.

In the CELTA syllabus guidelines, very specific assessment criteria are specified. These are numbered and explicitly linked to the syllabus unit to which they relate, so for instance in the case of Unit 2 (language analysis and awareness), there are 7 items (see appendix G), all of which can be matched to one or more of the 7 assessment criteria detailed later in the document. For each unit in the syllabus, with the notable exception of Unit 1, it is clear how the assessment criteria correspond to the syllabus content and learning outcomes stipulated for that unit. In the assessment criteria for Unit 1 (the teaching and learning context) there are 4 descriptors, which are as follows:

- 1a teaching a class with an awareness of the needs and interests of the learner group

- 1b teaching a class with an awareness of learning styles and cultural factors that may affect learning
 - 1c acknowledging, when necessary, learners' backgrounds and previous learning experiences
 - 1d establishing good rapport with learners and ensuring they are fully involved in learning activities
- (Cambridge ESOL 2006: 21)

I commented above that the syllabus was recently updated to include items 1.5 and 1.6 (see p. 26), which relate to awareness of varieties of English and multilingualism. However, there have not been corresponding additions to the assessment criteria, which clearly make no mention of language variety or bilingualism and multilingualism. So while candidates should according to the syllabus content, “demonstrate awareness of the need for teachers and learners to make informed choices about language models for teaching and learning” (*ibid.* p. 8) and should “make practical use of this knowledge and awareness in planning and teaching” (*ibid.*), there is no guidance to trainers or trainees on how this might be evaluated. It is difficult to see how or to what extent provision has been made for the inclusion of these syllabus items in any practical sense.

There also seems to be a mismatch between the syllabus content for Unit 1 and 2 (see again appendix G). The criteria for assessing a candidate's language analysis and awareness contradict the descriptions of learning outcomes for Unit 1.5. Any reference to language accuracy or appropriacy in the syllabus is made in clearly universal terms, with no mention of variety or context of language use. In Unit 2 for example, under the heading ‘Grammar’, candidates are expected to “demonstrate understanding of a range of the rules and conventions relating to words, sentences, paragraphs and texts” (*ibid.* p.9). The language analysis, for grammar, lexis and phonology is thus apparently decontextualised. In addition, where context is stipulated in the assessment guidelines and criteria, this is mostly with regard to the learning environment at a micro level, relating more to issues such as learner styles and type of classroom interaction than to context in the broader sense.

In order to investigate further the extent to which changes to the syllabus guidelines are currently being implemented in practice, I devised a questionnaire for CELTA trainers, asking explicitly about their interpretation of the guidelines and how these informed their timetabling of the course (see appendix H). Participants were asked to comment on which aspects of the syllabus they prioritized for input sessions and assessment, and then to specifically describe the practical implications of topics included in Unit 1, particularly in

light of recent additions regarding language variety and multilingualism. The questionnaire was distributed to 10 trainers employed at International House London. There was very clear agreement about the relative importance of the syllabus units for assessment of candidates, with all participants rating Unit 2 more highly than each of the other units. In terms of the details of Unit 1, there was also a very definite trend. Participants reported that the first 4 items (those of the previous syllabus) were important to prioritize, and that on the whole, items 1.5 (varieties) and 1.6 (multilingualism) tended to have little impact in practice. These sentiments are demonstrated very clearly in the following quote, which is very typical of the responses given for questions 2 and 3 in the questionnaire.

I focus particularly on the first 4 of these in an input session, and they of course form part of the first assignment. Points 5 and 6 do get referred to, but not in depth. [...] The change has not had a great effect, but I do mention these areas in passing. However I do not have detailed input on them. (Alastair)

In some cases participants were also uncertain of what was meant by the terms 'variety' and 'multilingualism', and had little awareness of the sociolinguistics of language use. This is in evidence in the following response to questions 3 and 4.

I was unaware of the change and don't feel that I address either of these items in my courses [...] I'm not sure what is meant by this [varieties of English]. (Ben)

This response is in stark contrast to the very detailed answers Ben gave for question 2, in which he described at length the relationships between aspects such as learner styles, motivation, educational background, and teaching styles, materials development and so on. This small-scale research project draws attention to the limitations of implementing change at the practical level. Teacher trainers seem to be unaware of the syllabus changes, or uncertain how they might be incorporated in practice, and even unfamiliar with the notion that sociolinguistics should be a component of teacher knowledge. With regard to a teacher's 'content knowledge' and 'pedagogical content knowledge' (see Tsui 2003 for a discussion of the integrated nature of these in teacher expertise), there seems to be in fact little scope for development of linguistic awareness in CELTA. Furthermore, and of special relevance in light of ELF empirical data, there is even less scope for the development of sociolinguistic awareness, especially since trainers themselves may not be fully aware of the relevant issues. Indeed, as Seidlhofer (2005) has stated:

...future teachers of English might be given more support than they have hitherto received in teacher education courses to help them confront the issues resulting from the globalisation of English and what this means for their English language classrooms.

(Seidlhofer 2005: 161)

8.4.1 Teacher knowledge and lexicogrammar

The predominance of lexical approaches in ELT teacher education has established a strong and indeed growing trend in current practice for grammatical structures to be treated as lexical items. Lewis (1997), one of a number of key texts widely used on both pre-service and in-service teacher training courses, proposes for example that teachers shift their attention away from 'grammaticalized lexis' and focus instead on 'lexicalized grammar'. This continuing trend has its roots in the significant insights provided by corpus linguistics into the way the language is used in written and spoken discourse. It has though, in my view, a potentially limiting effect on teachers' experiences of language awareness on both the CELTA and DELTA schemes.

The early 1990's saw the publication of a number of teacher handbooks and teacher training text books with a focus on corpus studies and how these might influence current practice in the classroom (including among others which were influential, Hoey 1991, Sinclair 1991). In addition, ever since Nattinger and DeCarrico (1992) related the findings of child language acquisition (e.g. Hakuta 1974) to second language teaching, highlighting the importance of prefabricated language, and especially since Lewis (1993) popularised these ideas, packaging them as *The Lexical Approach*, ELT methodology has been dominated by discussions about how to present lexis. The 10-year period leading up to the turn of the century saw the communicative approach shift its focus evermore towards the teaching of collocations, fixed expressions and other unanalysed 'chunks' of language. This can be illustrated by considering just some of the many introductory texts published at the time (Lewis 1993, 1997, Willis 1990, Willis and Willis 1996). This trend can also be attested by the large number of published papers appearing in journals such as *ELTJ* (e.g. Hunston, Francis and Manning 1997), and *Modern English Teacher* (e.g. Thornbury 1998), as well as popular language teaching magazines such as *English Teaching Professional*. The trend continues to exert influence on English language teaching, particularly in the UK, where both pre- and in-service training courses include input sessions of teaching through a 'lexical approach.'

This has far reaching implications for the way English language teachers approach the presentation and practice of language items in class. First of all, it means vocabulary teaching tends to be given primacy over grammar teaching on many teacher training programmes. This has also influenced the approach taken by practitioners to many of the seemingly more problematic areas of English lexicogrammar. This is particularly evident with some areas of the system, such as for example the gerund and infinitive forms, where pedagogic grammars and textbooks tend to deal with the distinction between *to* and *ing* complements on a case-by-case basis. In my view this approach favours the teacher at the possible expense of the learner. If learning is conducted on a case-by-case fashion, teachers need not worry themselves with identifying the underlying properties that unify seemingly disparate uses of a grammatical construction. They can simply explain away each item individually as this is needed. It particularly advantages the NS teacher since he or she can rely on 'expert' knowledge regarding collocation to determine whether *to* or *ing* is the better form in any given case without necessarily being aware of any principle reason. This in turn means for the learner that the learning load is potentially far greater. Parrott (2000) makes a similar point with regard to the treatment of articles in ELT resources. He comments that course materials often overlook the key basic principles of article use, providing instead detailed lists of specific rules, especially with some of the apparent exceptions to the basic rules, and thereby make article choice a more complicated affair for the learner than it needs to be.

My ELF data highlight some of the more systematic ways in which the linguistic resources of English can be used by effective lingua franca speakers. Accomplished L2 users of English do far more than acquire grammatical competence, and do far more than acquire sets of formulaic phrases; they engage in communication by using the resources at their disposal in innovative ways, often resulting in systematic variations on standard forms. It should become an aim of teacher education to raise teachers' awareness of the systematic nature of language, to encourage teachers to view English as set of resources comprising sets of interrelated sub-systems. This also entails developing an awareness of the sociolinguistic aspects of language, an understanding of how varieties of English may differ, and how in some cases variants that appear in some contexts may represent more systematic employment of the linguistic resources found in ENL.

8.4.2 The Teaching of English as an International Language

There are a growing number of texts that have begun to address issues regarding the teaching of English as an international language. These include largely general studies that also focus on a wide range of other important developments in ELT, such as Howatt (2004), Widdowson (2003), as well as texts that specifically focus on the question of English as an international language, such as McKay (2002) and Holliday (2005). Texts of this nature are gradually beginning to be included in reading lists for pre-service and in-service teacher training courses. I will now provide a brief review of the latter two as these texts most explicitly address the implications of the internationalisation of English for language teachers. They are also among the texts teachers are most likely to come across in teacher training programmes.

McKay (2002) begins her discussion of the spread of English internationally, like so many others, by drawing on Kachru's concentric circles model. Interestingly though, she comments that one drawback of the model is that currently there are countries categorised as belonging to the expanding circle which have a greater number of bilingual speakers of English than some countries in the outer circle. This is the case for instance if we consider the number of fluent English speakers in some Scandinavian countries, such as Denmark and Norway, traditionally classified as expanding circle but with many more bilingual users of English than some outer circle countries. It is a great pity, however, that McKay does not then go on to address the implications this holds for the way in which the language is perceived and described across the different contexts in which it is used.

McKay continues in fact by referring to the way in which English has developed as a result of its spread in the inner and outer circles, how through migration and colonisation respectively the language has transformed. This, she observes, has led to the emergence of established varieties in both these contexts, with for example the publication of dictionaries and grammars of British, American, Australian English, and the emergence of institutionalized and nativized varieties such as Singapore English, Indian English, and so on. Yet, in the case of the expanding circle, there is no discussion of what effect this has on the linguistic development of the language. The assumption is that since in expanding circle contexts the language has no institutional influences, any variation in use can only be categorised as deviant from an inner circle. In the absence of an institution, though, it is hardly inevitable that we should confine our perception of the language used in these

contexts to descriptions of what is 'erroneous'. With the growth of ELF corpora it is far from the case that we need to limit discussions of expanding circle English to the practice of making unfavourable comparisons to ENL varieties.

In addition, there are some interesting paradoxes in McKay's discussion that point to a misunderstanding of the current situation regarding the use of English internationally. While making the very valid point that determining what level of fluency is required to classify an individual as an English speaker is largely open to interpretation, she also comments that this is especially so in the expanding circle. There seems to be though no explanation here about why English speakers in expanding circle contexts should represent a special case, and seemingly be regarded as particularly problematic when it comes to determining levels of fluency. It is also odd that the phrase 'a user of English' (2002: 11) appears in the text in inverted commas. This seems to imply that the author does not wholly subscribe to the idea of an L2 speaker being regarded as a language user in his or her own right. Perhaps she prefers to regard any speaker for whom English is not the native language as a perpetual learner, and to consider any language differences that occur in these contexts not as linguistic developments but as features of interlanguage, the result of imperfect learning.

It is paradoxical that on the one hand this is a text aimed at addressing the international spread of English and acknowledging the linguistic diversity this involves, but which then excludes from the discussion what is arguably the most important type of context. As evidenced in my data, it is precisely in settings where English is being used as a lingua franca, that some of the most interesting linguistic developments are taking place. As discussed at some length in chapter 7, the current role of English as a lingua franca represents the latest stage in the ongoing evolution of the language. McKay's paradox is made all the more problematic because of the intended audience of her book. As a recent publication in the Oxford University Press series, *Oxford Handbooks for Language Teachers*, it is very likely to be a text encountered by teachers on in-service programmes of teacher education.

In the subsequent chapter McKay moves on to consider the various contexts in which English is used, and in doing so attempts to identify different types of L2 speakers. She makes the point that for many bilingual users of English, essentially speakers who use English as a language of wider communication, the traditional goal of NS like competence is

no longer necessary or desirable. This is a very important development, and goes some way towards raising awareness among ELT practitioners that the traditional assumption regarding NS goals is no longer sustainable. However, underlying these proclamations there again appears to be a degree of reluctance to fully embrace the pedagogical implications of describing L2 speakers as language users in their own right. There are a number of occasions in the text where this reluctance surfaces. For example, early on in the discussion reference is made to the term 'bilingual English speaker' as used by Jenkins (2000). McKay, in contrast to Jenkins, has opted to exclude NSs from the description, explaining that she will use the term only to describe non-native speakers (NNSs), and at all proficiency levels (Jenkins' use of the term refers to proficient users only), because they typically only use the language for more restricted, usually more formal purposes. This unfortunately represents something of a shortcoming in the discussion, and is in stark contrast to the definitions of L2 users provided by scholars working in ELF (cf. Seidlhofer 2004). In ELF research the L2 user is not regarded as an individual who only makes use of the language for restricted purposes. On the contrary, recent research, particularly in relation to the pragmatics of intercultural communication, strongly suggests that ELF communication involves a very wide range of purposes and fulfils very many different functions (see e.g. Cogo 2005).

Importantly, McKay acknowledges the fact that language variation outside of the inner circle is often perceived as a threat to intelligibility. She comments on the current discrepancies in the way variation is regarded, stating that although in ENL contexts variation tends to be greeted with (at least in applied linguistics) acceptance and tolerance, this is not always extended to other contexts. The limitation of McKay's account of teaching English as an international language, however, lies in the lack of any discussion of norms and models of usage appropriate for the expanding circle. She comments on the significance of Kachru's (1994) claims about the invalidity of the concept of interlanguage in the outer circle, but then does not address similar arguments raised in ELF research. This element seems to be lacking elsewhere in the literature, often in texts where it might be expected.

Holliday (2005) addresses the importance of reducing the status of the NS as a normative model, though does so only very briefly, referring the reader to the claims made in this regard by Jenkins (e.g. 2000) and Seidlhofer (e.g. 2002). The main focus instead is not on the question of pedagogical model, but on what Holliday describes as the 'native-speakerism', which he believes continues to characterise Western TESOL. Holliday's book

length treatment of the topic centres around email exchanges he has had with ESOL educators, highlighting the attitudes of those interviewed towards the shift in ownership and identity. Holliday provides a critical evaluation of what he describes as ‘stakeholder-centredness.’ This largely relates to how, in the current state of affairs in ELT, the NS is regarded as superior, and the NNS is cast as the ‘other’, an inferior outsider who must defer to the authority of the NS, thus promoting the cultural and economic interests of the centre-based stakeholders. The extent to which native-speakerism is a deep rooted problem in ELT is clearly illustrated in two of the email interviews Holliday cites (p 11-12), in which NS and NNS teachers interpret the findings reported in Jenkins (2000) to be motivated by the interests of the NS, despite clear explanations to the contrary (see also Jenkins forthcoming on the issue of attitudes towards ELF).

Holliday makes the important point that within the dominant ideology of Western TESOL, students can often be treated as culturally as well as linguistically problematic, and the role of the educator is most often implicitly one of “prescribing and controlling cultural behaviour” (2005: 111). The NNS ‘other’ is thus not only perceived as deficient linguistically, but also somehow culturally lacking. It is this aspect of the ‘struggle’ to teach English as an international language which Holliday is most concerned with in his discussion. There are several occasions in the book in which the question of normative model is raised, but a disappointing lack of engagement with this issue. One such passage occurs in an email interview between Holliday and a Taiwanese teacher. In the following extract the teacher expresses her views about notions of linguistic imperialism and deference to the NS.

People in Taiwan, for example, do not have any sort of hostility to English. Taiwan does not have any colonial past by the British (or even American) government and our attitude to English has been healthy. In this case, the commonly seen constraints do not operate. The native speaker norm, to us, is the only reliable source and the target that we look to as the way of learning English.
(Email interview quoted in Holliday 2005: 166)

As a speaker of the inner circle it is perhaps difficult for me to comment on these views without there being concerns again of native speakerism. Holliday’s objective in quoting this passage though is to show how the views of language teachers and students who seem to support native-speakerism, can also be understood as “an expression of *choice* about the type of cultural character one puts into English” (*ibid*, italics in original). The point here is that as

Taiwan does not have the same colonial past with English speaking countries as outer circle countries, any choices made do not need to involve 'submission' to the inner circle. There is though a fundamental way in which there is no choice, as indeed the teacher herself says, NS norms are "the only reliable source and target". This apparent paradox seems to go unnoticed, or at least is not addressed in Holliday's subsequent discussion. What is key here is that in countries which do have a colonial past connecting them with Britain, language learners have more choice in fact, since varieties of English in the outer circle have been codified.

A common misconception about ELF research is the supposed desire of scholars working in the field to prescribe what norms language learners should be acquiring. What empirical data gathered from lingua franca settings can do is provide alternative options, not prescribing but suggesting characteristic features of ELF communication as viable, and potentially more successful variations on NS norms. A further problem lies in the misconception that NS norms can be easily described and determined, that there is somehow a monolithic unvarying way of speaking English in the inner circle. Failure to also acknowledge variability in the inner circle is to rarefy L1 English(es) (the 'es' is notably absent in most discussions of linguistic norms). This is more likely to perpetuate native-speakerist views than researchers attempting to describe ELF usage in the hope that this will, in the fullness of time at least, help to inform pedagogic practice. Thus far however, there is still only very scant discussion of the practical implications of this research in what should be the relevant literature.

8.5 Language variation: Attitudes and acceptance

It is clear that linguistic diversity and mutual intelligibility are not necessarily incompatible. In applied linguistics, language variation is an accepted and widely studied phenomenon, which is far from being perceived as a threat to the maintenance of a standard or indeed to comprehensibility. Speakers of different regional varieties of a given language, who may often have linguistic repertoires that extend beyond more than one language, can and do communicate with each other very successfully on a regular basis. Sociolinguistics has taught us that no speech community, or community of practice, is homogeneous. Thus far however, and despite the growing discourse in ELF and critical pedagogy, this same acceptance of difference has extended to the outer circle Englishes but crucially not to the

use of English by expanding circle speakers. This has very important implications for any attempts to codify descriptions of ELF usage. If we consider some of the literature on language variation it becomes apparent just how much a paradigmatic shift is required if the pedagogical implications of ELF are to be accepted and acted upon in ELT.

In his introduction to a collection of papers on variation and change Trudgill (2002) makes the following observation.

[...] I am concerned in particular about European linguists, including in some cases sociolinguists – which signal a woeful ignorance on their part about linguistic variability, the value of linguistic diversity, and the preservation of languages and dialects, as well as an unwillingness to fight for linguistically democratic and egalitarian issues which most sociolinguists have long taken for granted.
Trudgill (2002: 3)

Trudgill points out that it is problem enough to have to defend and legitimise language variation to non-specialists let alone to other linguists or even sociolinguists. The point is an important one, and the examples given seem striking, but it is also one which can be applied to his own work.

The sense of the word ‘native’ as used in this (2002) text is worth considering, especially for example in Trudgill’s description of the arrival of English as a *native* language in Ireland in the 17th century. Similarly notable is the use of ‘indigenous’ to describe groups of little known *indigenous* Anglophone communities in countries like Namibia, Botswana and Kenya. This seems indicative of a large general tendency among many linguists and sociolinguists to imply that English is a special case allowing the use of words such as ‘native’ and ‘indigenous’ to be used far beyond the contexts in which they are relevant or appropriate. It is worth pondering whether Trudgill or other commentators would describe similar colonisations with the same language. This seems quite unlikely, particularly given the difference in tone when reference is made to the relative positions of English and French and the existence of a minority Anglophone community on the Magdalen islands (Les Iles des la Madeleine) of French speaking Quebec. The inverted commas in the following, “There are nine main islands which were ‘discovered’ by Jacques Cartier in 1534” (2002:154) do seem to be very telling. Such use of inverted commas to challenge establishment of power and right of ownership does not occur in sections of the text which concern the spread of English in colonial settlements.

In fact, close analysis of this text reveals an undertone that appears neo-imperialist in nature, one that is reminiscent of the imperialist spread that Phillipson (1992) describes. The undertone certainly seems to surface in the following words, “The expansion of English as a native language has been remarkable” (Trudgill 2002: 147). What is most remarkable here is the assertion that it is the spread of NS English that is unequivocally and uniquely of interest. The phenomenon is described in an almost celebratory tone. When the discussion turns to non-native speaker users of the language it is solely to consider, and then allay, popular worries about the possible fragmentation of English into mutually unintelligible dialects. There is no sense of the agency of these speakers in the variation and change that English is undergoing. Quite the contrary, any inventiveness among NNSs is regarded as simply unimportant. It seems extraordinary that on the one hand Trudgill acknowledges the unprecedented widespread nature of English as a lingua franca, and remarks on the reality that NNSs currently outnumber NSs, but then on the other entirely disregards any language innovation among these speakers as “quite interesting and amusing” (2002: 151). Thankfully, according to Trudgill, the *foreigner* can do what he or she likes with the language, and providing this behaviour is confined to a few isolated marginal items of lexis none of these innovations will be a *danger* to NSs, who are regarded unquestioningly in this text as “the true repository of the English language” (*ibid.*).

For a researcher working in ELF this is alarming. It is all the more disconcerting because these are statements made not by a non-specialist, uninformed in matters of language variation, but by a leading figure in sociolinguistics, a scholar renowned for his influence in the field. It also seems very much at odds with his acknowledgement (stated later on the same page) that endonormative varieties such as Indian English are precisely the ones which should be taught in contexts where English serves as an internal lingua franca. Surely it is something of an anomaly to then not realise the importance of endonormative varieties in settings where English is used as a lingua franca externally between groups and communities. There are in the text several contradictions. Trudgill first acknowledges the emergence of localized varieties of English, affirming importantly that these also occur where English is used not by NSs but as a lingua franca among elite groups who do not have a commonly shared L1. To then later comment that all languages change because NSs change them (2002:152) is to paradoxically deny the agency already assigned to L2 English users in outer circle contexts. The position with regard to ELF, or perhaps better the

absence of a clearly stated position on ELF, is fundamentally at odds with the praiseworthy affirmation that linguistic diversity should be encouraged.

I argue that we should attempt to preserve linguistic diversity, of all types, wherever we can, and suggest, in the spirit of encouraging diversity, that we should try to preserve not just languages as such, but also as many varieties and dialects of languages as possible.
(Trudgill 2002: 152)

Not only is it not in the spirit of encouraging diversity, but also an untenable position for a sociolinguist to fail to extend this viewpoint to include use of the language that occurs outside NS settings. Trudgill returns to this theme of preserving linguistic diversity to close the chapter, though he does so again with an implicit proviso, that it is only a question of diversity if NSs are involved. This caveat is all the more telling because it is accompanied by claims of ownership, “these distinctive varieties of *our* English language deserve to be honoured and preserved” (2002: 158. Emphasis added). The use of ‘honoured’ suggests again a celebratory tone, and one that is incompatible with a discussion about the importance of linguistic diversity and the acceptance of difference.

Elsewhere in the literature there is a plethora of similar cases where scholars in sociolinguistics, many of whom are widely quoted for their work on language variation and change, submit to only a limited notion of diversity. There are for instance many implicit cases of what I will call ‘persistent language prescription’. To illustrate this point we can consider the following quote, which is from Blake’s (1996) history of the English language.

The more relaxed attitude towards language found among some sections of the population may be set against the demand for correctness and clarity made by others. This is particularly true of the writing system. It is now common to find that the apostrophe, for example, is either not used at all or is used in the *wrong* places.
(Blake 1996: 317, italics added)

Here we see an author writing from within a particular tradition of linguistics on the subject of language change in ENL, who is practising or at least being influenced by the same kind of language prescription which he suggests elsewhere in the book is old fashioned and largely discredited. This is important to bear in mind as it gives a strong indication of just how deep rooted and pervasive this phenomenon is if it occurs implicitly even in texts

whose subject matter relates to language variation and change. We can also consider the following extract, which occurs only a few pages later in the same text:

Another trend has been the continuing exploitation of functional shift. This is a feature which has *run riot* in more recent times and is often criticised by those who regard themselves as guardians of the language.
(*ibid*: 323, italics added)

Presumably, as professor of English and an established scholar in linguistics Blake does not himself subscribe to the guardianship he mentions here, yet the choice of lexis does tend to convey a particularly negative connotation. In a similar, no doubt equally unintended, adherence to prescriptive notions of language use, McKay (2002) describes innovative features as 'deviant'. McKay quotes the work of Shastri and his descriptions of features of Indian Englishes, wherein he qualifies the word *deviant* by prefacing it thus, 'so-called deviant features', although McKay herself uses the word without qualifying it in such a way. Despite discussing non-standard variants as legitimated forms she continually refers to features as 'deviant', as in "...sentences displayed deviant uses" and a little later, "...such examples of deviant use" (2002: 62). Milroy (1999) points out how linguists when theorising about language have often, and in most cases indirectly, subscribed to prescriptive views of language. This point will be taken up further in the following section in the discussion of standard language.

If studies in which linguistic diversity is such a central theme convey these undertones, then we can only assume that ELT practitioners are probably, at least to some extent, influenced by prescriptive attitudes towards language. I would suggest that language teachers and teacher trainers are profoundly influenced by popular attitudes to language and folk linguistics. There seems to be a good deal of discomfort in mainstream ELT when the topic of English varieties is raised, as evidenced in many of the responses to the questionnaire discussed above in section 8.4 (see also appendix H). In question 5 the teacher trainers were asked to evaluate language samples on scales of *correctness*, *acceptability for international communication*, *intelligibility for international communication*, *importance for classroom correction*. In total there were 7 utterances, 6 from the data presented in this thesis and one from an ENL corpus. There was a very strong tendency for participants to rate items as both 'very intelligible' but also 'very incorrect', 'very unacceptable' and 'very important to correct' in the classroom. There is often an underlying linguistic conservatism and a particular

reluctance to acknowledge, let alone accept, language variation and language change. It matters enormously that such remnants of linguistic prescriptivism should also be discernible in the literature discussed above. A review of ELT related journals (e.g. *ELTJ*) would no doubt reveal an extensive and persistent prescriptive culture underlying many of the contributions. To help illustrate this point it is worth considering some of the more prominent and popular publications on the English language that have been released in recent years.

Non-specialist literature on the English language is mostly characterized by a prescriptive tradition. This phenomenon is perhaps best evidenced by the huge popularity of Lynne Truss's book *Eats, Shoots and Leaves: The Zero Tolerance Approach to Punctuation*, in which the author famously reprimands the "ignorance and indifference" (front flap) towards punctuation, apparently found "everywhere." The tendency for conservative attitudes towards language diversity is also attested by the way John Honey's (1997) book, *Language is Power*, was so well received by the general public. In Bill Bryson's *Mother Tongue*, and Melvyn Bragg's *The Adventure of English*, two books that spent considerable time on best sellers' lists, there is no overt prescriptivism as such. However, both are written in a rather celebratory mood, with clearly discernible undertones that bestow supposed innate, mostly superior qualities on the standard language. There is it seems an enormous appetite in non-specialist arenas for prescriptions about language, underpinned by worries about how the English language is subject to degradation, a phenomenon Milroy and Milroy (1999) describe as the 'complaint tradition.'

Given the craft-based, training-oriented approach to teacher education (see section 8.4) by which many English language teachers enter the profession, a good number of ELT practitioners are probably more likely to be familiar with these popular texts than they are with specialist linguistic textbooks. As a result I would argue that many teachers currently working in ELT, especially newly qualified ones, are more likely to be influenced by popular misconceptions about language than they are to be informed by research and academic discussion. This could well explain the extent to which participants were unwilling to judge as acceptable, let alone correct, language that they nevertheless found to be highly intelligible.¹¹ Add to this the extent and apparent acceptance of language discrimination (see

¹¹ This includes, as well as examples taken from my data, the AmEng use of past simple with *yet* in Q5.7 of the questionnaire.

e.g. Lippi-Green 1997), as well as the unsuccessfulness of attempts by linguists to engage with popular views about language (see e.g. Cameron 1995), and we can assume that many language teachers are unaccustomed to the concept of linguistic diversity. Milroy (1999) comments that attempts by linguists to raise awareness of diversity have been largely perceived as attacks on the notion of standards, resulting in “hysterical objections” (p. 20) and an association of tolerance for variation with ‘permissiveness’, both linguistically and, alarmingly, morally.

In addition, there seems to be a good deal of misunderstanding, misinterpretation, even misrepresentation of ELF, which further impairs the acceptance of research findings in the field. For example Jenkins (2006a) describes the tensions that exist between scholars working in ELF and those working from within the World Englishes paradigm. She explains how, contrary to efforts by ELF scholars to elaborate on their perspective with regard to variety, those researching ELF are often criticised for promoting a monolithic view of English. In addition, there is often little attempt to engage with the academic discourse being produced by ELF scholars, and either little understanding or even a lack of acknowledgement of ELF as a field. Jenkins also points out how Bolton (2004), when discussing Kachru’s concentric circles model, describes the expanding circle as “norm-dependent”, with no mention of ELF whatsoever. Although ELF research is growing in recognition, and gradually gaining approval in sociolinguistics, Jenkins expresses uncertainty about whether this approval will reach the same extent as it has for outer circle Englishes, and seems especially uncertain about the future uptake of ELF in ELT practice. This uncertainty is in no small measure likely compounded by the extent of the misconceptions regarding ELF researchers’ work, a matter which Seidlhofer (2006) overtly addresses. These misconceptions relate to the supposed belief that ELF researchers ignore the ‘polymorphous’ nature of the language, deny tolerance for diversity, propose prescribed rules, and recommend a monolithic variety to be taught to all L2 learners. The misconceptions are arguably at least in part due to occasional lapses in precision in the way ELF scholars themselves describe their work, let alone how others refer to it. Gnutzmann (2005), a scholar no doubt familiar with much of the work of ELF researchers, in relation to the concept of Standard English, raises the following question, “Is *a* new form of English emerging, *a* form which breaks free of *its* native varieties?” (p.108, my italics). Here Gnutzmann problematically refers to ‘a’ new form in the singular, but then ‘native varieties’ in the plural,

thus unwittingly fuelling the misconception that ELF researchers propose a single uniform lingua franca variety. Some of the misrepresentations may well be easily remedied by more consistently referring to ELF varieties (or at least, ELF types) and explicitly stating the plurality in the same way as is customary in ENL and outer circle discussions.

8.6 Codification and standardization

If descriptions of ELF data are one day to have future practical applications in pedagogy, it is necessary to consider the relationship between codification and notions of Standard English. It is also important to take account of the relationship - as well as the perceived relationship - between a standard variety and intelligibility. The question of standards in language teaching is complex, and the term 'standard' itself is an ideologically and emotionally loaded one. There seems also to be a good deal of confusion surrounding the process of standardization, both in the literature and more generally. In this section I consider some of the definitions of Standard English that language teachers are likely to be most familiar with or influenced by. I discuss the implications of these in relation to ELF data, and suggest ways in which teachers might reassess the meaning of 'standard' in light of recent attempts to unpack and demystify the phrase 'Standard English'.

In much quoted remarks, Quirk (1985) argued that it was important to maintain standards in the use of English in inner circle contexts and beyond, observing in fact that to do otherwise was pedagogically detrimental. Clearly much has happened in the years since Quirk proposed a "single monochrome standard" (1985: 6) for all L2 learners of English in all contexts. Indeed, as Bamgbose (1998) comments these 'old ideas' have largely disappeared. He observes that probably few scholarly commentators believe that L2 English is only used in a limited number of domains, that its continued use will lead to fragmentation, and that the only way of preventing this is uniform promotion of NS English. Nevertheless, a 'monochrome' viewpoint seems to have remained prevalent among ELT practitioners. This is hardly surprising given the stance taken in some of the most popular teacher training manuals. Harmer's (2001) book, *The Practice of English Language Teaching*, is a widely acknowledged source of advice on good practice, and commonly included in pre-service teacher training courses. Quite untypical for this genre, the opening chapter provides a discussion of the spread of English in the world. However, much more typical are the conclusions arrived at towards the end of the chapter, wherein Harmer, after a

discussion of English varieties and reference to Kachru's concentric circles, observes that in the expanding circle, learners' and teachers' options largely boil down to a choice between BrEng and AmEng. This is also supported by the responses to question 4 given in my questionnaire, in which when asked about the variety/ies teachers should use as a model, participants tended to see this as a question about whether British or American models were most appropriate. Most reported that BrEng was the preferred option, unless they knew that their trainees would be going to teach in the US, in which case they should become more aware of AmEng norms.

This restricted view of what constitutes a legitimate variety, and what can therefore be regarded as an appropriate classroom model seems to be very much a part of the current mindset in ELT. It is worth pondering for a moment definitions of Standard English that are influential in the profession. McKay, in addressing the issue of standards in her discussion of EIL, quotes for example Stevens' (1983) definition, in which Standard English is described as:

A particular dialect of English, being the only non-localized dialect, of global currency without significant variation, universally accepted as the appropriate educational target in teaching English; which may be spoken with an unrestricted choice of accent.

(Stevens 1983: 88, and quoted in McKay 2002: 51)

Interestingly, McKay highlights the fact that according to Stevens there are no restrictions regarding the accent in which Standard English may be spoken. This has important implications, she comments, for the issue of phonological variation in EIL, even though on the whole the model of pronunciation in the classroom is still predominantly GA or (modified) RP¹². What McKay does not comment on, though, is the claim that Standard English is "the only non-localized dialect", which twenty-plus years after Stevens gave this description is no longer the case at all. In light of the global spread of English, in the current conceptualisation of Standard English, there is a sense that it most definitely is a localized dialect - it is the prestige dialect of speakers in inner circle contexts. This supposed neutrality is found in much of the literature.

¹² Widdowson (2003) similarly highlights the fallacy of this notion given that learners' dictionaries provide RP transcriptions, and usually no other variants, clearly indicating that a standard language is very much associated with a particular pronunciation.

In relation to distinguishing between what counts as an innovation and what is to be regarded as error in outer circle Englishes, Bamgbose (1998) suggests two courses of action: either the decision can be based on an appeal to some external standard, or it can be made on the basis of internal factors. He points out that external appeals are problematic because this involves unfavourable comparisons, usually with NS standards, which tends to negate the very existence of nativized varieties, especially since “many of the linguistic features likely to be stigmatized by comparison with native English are indexical markers of the non-native varieties” (1998: 3). Until now ELT models have been almost exclusively dependent on external standards, with ‘learner language’ studied only in light of its ‘errors’. The much preferred internal measures of innovation which Bamgbose suggests consist of five key factors: *demographic*, *geographical*, *authoritative*, *codification*, and *acceptability*. These relate respectively to, the number of speakers, their distribution, sanctioning of usage, and the attitudes of the users and non-users.

If we borrow these terms to consider the situation in ELF, and the nature of the current data specifically, then clearly the first two criteria are met in my corpus. We can consider the features presented in chapter 4 as innovations because they are spoken by large numbers of widely dispersed speakers. Bamgbose also considers the identity of these speakers, and raises the question of whether or not basilectal and mesilectal innovation should be accepted in the acrolect, which he argues is the most likely candidate for endonormative standards. In my data collection I regarded all of the participants to be acrolectal speakers in that, despite variability in competence, they were all deemed to be accomplished speakers of the language. Many of the participants also use English in what House (1999) describes as ‘influential frameworks’, and indeed as Leung (2005) comments, ELF is often associated with elite settings and high status speakers. Most important perhaps is the point that Bamgbose makes with regard to the spread of an innovation geographically, commenting on the existence of a number of features that occur across a range of language backgrounds and regions, often beyond the national level.¹³ The point here is that the more geographically widespread an innovation is, the more chance it has of becoming accepted. The innovations found in my corpus are not only widespread among these speakers; some of them have also been found to occur in outer circle varieties (Bamgbose himself gives *discuss*

¹³ He cites among other works, Bamgbose (1992), Bokamba (1992), Kachru (1994).

about as an example of Ghanaian English, and Parasher 1994 reports widespread pluralization of 'non-count' nouns in Indian English).

The next two factors given above, 'authoritative' and 'codification' are currently in the process of becoming established, but are in the early stages of their development. There is thus far very little codification of ELF, but the growing number of corpora have the potential to provide some degree of authority and will be invaluable resources for the future codification of ELF forms in dictionaries and grammars. The most problematic factor is that of user and non-user attitudes and acceptance of newly emerging authorities. Indeed, as Bamgbose says, "the acceptability factor is the ultimate test of admission of an innovation" (1998: 4). So important is acceptability in fact, that reluctance to challenge what is accepted as standard leads to some fairly problematic situations, such as West African English language examiners rejecting norms that they themselves customarily make use of. Crucially, Bamgbose also points out that acceptability can be 'engineered', that while non-native language forms will never be accepted as variants in their own right unless codification takes place, this is in his view a practical and achievable goal.

It therefore seems to be a very complex issue. Acceptance comes with codification, but the resources for codifying language are most often in the hands of those who may be reluctant to accept new variations on standard norms. Thus, codification also comes with acceptance. There are though of course access points in this apparent circle, small but important opportunities for entry into it. One of the most important implications of ELF data is the newly emerging 'authority' that, as systematic corpus studies, they can constitute. Empirical data tell us how English is being used, and how the language is developing, essential information which can help to promote acceptability. The longer established authorities in ELT, the publishers and examining boards for example, have seemed until now, though, at best reluctant to acknowledge any such authority, and at worst actively hostile to the idea. I turn now to a detailed consideration of why this might be the case and suggest some explanations for the skepticism and occasional hostility with which proponents of legitimized ELF varieties are met.

Milroy (1999) comments that the values and ideology of a society are deeply and inextricably linked to notions of a standard language variety. This ideology is particularly prevalent in relation to the teaching of L2 English. Trudgill (1999) for example in fact includes L2 learners as part of his definition of Standard English, defining it as "the variety

taught to non-native learners” (p. 112). On the face of it, this may seem unproblematic, but there is a degree of circularity here, since elsewhere, and so often in the literature, the most appropriate model for second language classroom is defined simply as “Standard English”. This is commonplace in descriptions of both Standard English and normative models. Two very different concepts are conflated into one mutually constituted description, with the result that often neither is dealt with in proper detail. Both tend to be defined in fairly broad, universal terms. David Crystal for example (see especially 1997, 2001) regards Standard English as fairly uniform, and thus sees it as a stabilizing influence for language learners, but only really defines what he means by saying that it is the form all learners should be presented with. He recommends only NS normative models, for language production purposes at least, and advises that teachers exercise “pedagogical conservatism” (2001: 59) in the selection of a language model. It is also problematic that definitions of this kind give a false impression that ‘standard’ is a straightforward, mostly uniform phenomenon, and one that is universally relevant and applicable.

Milroy (1999), on the other hand, describes the paradox that characterizes the notion of a standard language: on the one hand we perceive standardized forms as abstract objects representing uniform states, whilst on the other all languages are both internally variable and continually changing. There is thus a tension between the (largely perceived) uniformity achieved through the process of standardization and the necessity for a language to be sufficiently flexible that speakers can make use of its resources in novel ways. The process of standardization is therefore a very complex one, and one that is continually present and continually active, at least in languages that have been described and analysed to the extent English has. Milroy explains how an ‘ideology of standardisation’ has shaped linguistic descriptions and the development of linguistic theories in fundamental ways. He comments that because most linguistic analysis has been undertaken with highly standardized languages, we have tended to become fixated on notions of uniformity, with linguists describing and analysing language very much as if it were invariant, and very much under the influence of the ideology of standard language. It is also a commonplace belief, at least in what Milroy describes as ‘standard-language cultures’, that despite widespread awareness of substantial variation, languages are thought to exist in invariant and static forms. This entails the idealization of Standard English, to the point that it is not a variety at all, but rather transcendent and entirely separate from *varieties* of the language, all of which are imperfect

realizations of ideal forms. This ideology has major implications for the way we tend to react to prescriptions about language use.

The general public tends to accept the authority of many prescriptive pronouncements. Most people claim to believe that there are correct and incorrect ways of speaking and may well accept, quite wrongly, that their own speech – to the extent that it is non-standard – is ‘ungrammatical’.

(Milroy 1999: 22)

There are therefore transcendental notions of correctness, which go beyond any consideration of context, setting, appropriacy, where, arbitrarily, certain language forms are ubiquitously and inherently ‘correct’ or ‘good’. This is largely the result of the enormity of the superordinate variety in our consciousness, where it holds such high status and prestige that we associate this with all language use, that we “equate the standard language – or what is believed to be the standard language – with the language as a whole and with ‘correct’ usage” (*ibid.*: 18). This standard ideology is embodied in the educational establishment, published language reference materials, and very much promoted in the media, which is perhaps best explained in light of the phenomenon Milroy and Milroy (1999) have described as the ‘complaint tradition’.

Milroy and Milroy comment that in the history of standard language ideology, loose morals have often been associated, and sometimes held responsible for, the supposed decline in language standards. They also comment that virtually every speaker of a language subscribes to the ‘ideology of standardisation’, part of the aim of which is to prevent or inhibit language change. They summarise this ideology thus:

- 1 That there is one, and only one, correct way of speaking and/or writing the English language.
- 2 That deviations from this norm are illiteracies, or barbarisms, and that non-standard forms are irregular and perversely deviant.
- 3 That people *ought* to use the standard language and that it is quite right to discriminate against non-standard users, as such usage is a sign of stupidity, ignorance, perversity, moral degeneracy, etc.

Milroy and Milroy (1999:33, italics in original)

There is certainly evidence to suppose that the first of these points, as well as at least some elements of the other two, continue to hold sway among ELT practitioners. A number of

these sentiments surface in the literature, and many of them no doubt explain to some degree the apparent reluctance of experienced language teachers and teacher trainers to judge as acceptable the ‘very intelligible’ ELF utterances included in my questionnaire. An important aim of complaints in the ‘complaint tradition’ is to maintain acceptance of one variety as superior to all others, and in fact to deny the concept of variety all together. It is essential to address this issue in any attempt to propose as content for codification any innovative features. This is especially important in the case of ELF innovations, such as those described in this thesis, because their acceptance requires a particularly dynamic view of language use. In this light, Milroy and Milroy importantly observe that:

Standardization is never complete because, ultimately, a language is the property of the communities that use it, and it must function effectively at that level in a manner that fulfils the needs of users.
(1999: 45)

Many of these communities are better defined as communities of practice than speech communities, and many of these are settings where English is used primarily or exclusively as a lingua franca. What is needed is an in-depth, broad discussion in ELT forums of the ideological, non-linguistic nature of current notions about standard language, as well as considerable awareness raising of the range of varieties in which English occurs.

Parakrama’s (1995) concept of ‘de-hegemonizing’ language standards is an important one. It is also one which is as relevant in the expanding circle as it is in outer circle contexts. Parakrama demonstrates how knowledge of English can be ‘valorized’ in outer circle contexts, where the language is promoted for its inherent value, and often aggrandized by those in authority. This phenomenon also occurs in expanding circle contexts in that ENL standard varieties, usually AmEng and BrEng are valorized by teachers and learners. This is not to say that an ENL model is by default problematic. The problem lies in the current absence of any real choice that most teachers and learners face in ELT. A language teaching syllabus, and materials based on ELF will not be appropriate in all contexts, but they need to be presented as one of a number of available options. Any interested parties - teachers, learners, parents and so on, may decide that an ENL variety is the most appropriate one in a given context. What is fundamental though is that there is open discussion about language varieties and their socio-political roles, and that alternatives are provided. This is not to say of course that all parties will have complete freedom of choice here, and in any situation

there are likely to be conflicts of interest, disagreements and constraints placed on those choices (see Joseph 2006 for a thorough discussion of these concepts).

Parakrama also in fact comments that standardization is a dynamic process, involving continuous negotiations between standard and non-standard usage. On the relationship between the two types of usage he says the following:

In fact, there is a sense in which we can legitimately say that the NVEs [New Varieties of English] themselves function as 'non-standard' forms of the OVEs [Old Varieties of English] and that they have, in this way, not only influenced the OVEs over time, but have also helped to reformulate the theoretical premises on which these OVEs are understood. The issue, moreover, concerns the mechanisms of classification themselves, as we move to question the validity of a variety of English that cannot account for systematic variation within it.
(Parakrama 1995: 184)

This can be extended to the situation in ELF settings. Varieties of ELF will be more or less different from standard varieties of English in the outer circle and inner circle, and the more established our descriptions of ELF features become, the more likely they are to influence varieties in the other two circles. The most important point Parakrama makes is with regard to the need to conceptualise the notion of standard variety in such a way that variation is accommodated.

Notions of variability or dynamism, however, are distinctly lacking from descriptions of Standard English in ELT resources, which tend to provide definitions that are both conventional and restricted. Crowley (2003), on the tradition of standardization, explores the etymology of the word 'standard', observing how historically it has involved two distinct but related meanings. In one sense a 'standard' is a military ensign, which acts as a rallying point, a marker of authority around which armies and nations can come together for a common purpose. In a second sense 'standard' represents an exemplary unit of measure, which is derived from the authority associated with the first meaning, and which involves a sense of evaluation. Crowley comments that both meanings of the word tend to be combined in discussions about language standards. Standard English is thus both regarded as a value which has to be attained, and a uniform set of practices. Crowley, however, makes the crucial observation that throughout the history of linguistics and language studies, 'language' has been an elusive concept, that we can still not in verifiable or categorical terms say what we mean and understand with terms such as 'language', 'dialect', 'variety' and so on. Such is the

variability of any language as used by its many speakers, that any notion of uniformity can only exist at a very abstract level. Traditionally, Standard English has been regarded in the following terms:

... a form of language in any particular national geographic territory which lies beyond all the variability of usage in offering unity and coherence to what otherwise appears diverse and disunited. It is the literary form of the language that is to be used and recognised all over the national territory.
(Crowley 2003: 84)

Crowley comments on the extent to which written and spoken language use, as well as notions of both commonality and uniformity all tend to be conflated, and somewhat entangled in traditional accounts of the standard variety. In light of the recent history of English these are no longer suitable definitions. The language transcends national geographic territories, with much of the communication in English taking place between rather than within communities. It is very diverse, but not entirely disunited. The success of any lingua franca depends on a certain amount of stability, which must mean that there are sufficient core areas of the grammar and lexis of ELF for it to be used as a means of intercultural communication. My data show that English in lingua franca settings is being used in diverse, and dynamic ways. Speakers also, and very adeptly, display many of the qualities of spoken grammar and syntax as evidenced in ENL corpora, that is, they use language which is “well adapted to the circumstances of speaking” and which is “polypragmatic and multifunctional, responding to speakers’ needs to plan simultaneously as they go” (Cheshire 1999: 145). The dynamic nature of the interactions does not result in disunity however; rather, as they engage in online communication, speakers mutually construct a fairly broad set of common lexicogrammatical characteristics.

Joseph (2006) warns against attempting to codify New Englishes prematurely. He is referring here to the outer circle but the arguments are equally valid for the expanding circle. He observes that while World Englishes can be conceived of as systems it may be better to regard them as an *attitude*, especially because “the linguist who rushes in to systematise a New English prematurely runs a serious risk of misrepresenting as fixed what is actually still quite fluid” (2006: 145). This is a particularly valid point and Joseph is right to highlight the risk, but there also comes a time when systematizing must take place if this ‘attitude’ is to become a completely meaningful one. As we have already seen, all systematizations of

language are ultimately abstract constructs of a fluid phenomenon. The fluidity of ELF is more accelerated than inner circle and outer circle Englishes, but that does not mean to say we cannot describe in detail those features of usage that are most typically found in ELF interaction. The data presented in chapters 4 and 5 indicate very clearly that there are strong tendencies for certain processes of change to occur, and that these processes often result in widely shared patterns of linguistic features. Before summarizing these features, I propose a redefinition of the term ‘standard’ as applied in ELT pedagogy.

The following definitions are taken from two popular reference sources, frequently included in the reading lists of in-service teacher training courses, especially DELTA. The first is from David Crystal’s *A Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics*, the second appears in *Longman Dictionary of Language Teaching and Applied Linguistics* (Richards, Platt and Platt).

‘Standard languages/dialects/varieties’ cut across regional differences, providing a *uniform* means of communication, and thus an institutionalized norm which can be used in the mass media, in teaching the language to foreigners, and so on.
(Crystal 1996: 360, italics added)

...the variety of a language which has the highest status in a community or nation and which is usually based on the speech and writing of educated native speakers of the language. A standard variety is generally:
a used in the news media and in literature
b described in dictionaries and grammars
c taught in schools and taught to non-native speakers when they learn the language as a foreign language
 (Richards et al 1992: 351)

In light of the arguments presented by ELF scholars, and especially in light of my data, and the growing body of empirical lingua franca data more broadly, we need to reconceptualize normative models and the notion of standardization in ELT. Both of the above definitions are problematic, but for different reasons. The first is very clearly influenced by the ideology of standardization, and explicitly mentions the uniformity of the standard variety, which can ultimately only exist in very abstract terms. In addition to this, the word ‘foreigners’ seems somewhat misplaced since ‘foreign’ is surely a relative term, and in the case of an NS teacher working in Japan say, it is of course the teacher who is the foreigner. The second definition allows for some variation. It also contains more detail, and is at least based on more concrete and observable premises, that is, the speech and writing of educated NSs. The shortcomings

here are again NS dependence, as well as reliance on a largely nationally defined speech community. This definition need not be so problematic however, and if we simply add one or two clauses in the appropriate places, and delete a few others it becomes far more flexible, and therefore more relevant. The new version might read something like this:

...~~the~~ *a* variety of ~~a language~~ *English* which has ~~the highest~~ *a high* status in a community or nation, *or lingua franca setting*, and which is usually based on the speech and writing of educated ~~native~~ speakers of the language *who are accomplished speakers in that community, nation, or setting.*

Words that are inappropriate have been crossed out, and additional words and clauses are shown in italics. The definite article has been replaced with indefinite article to reflect the plurality of standard varieties, and for the same reason the superlative 'the highest' has been replaced with 'a high'. I have also added the phrase 'lingua franca setting' to extend the scope of the context, and have deleted 'native' as this is inappropriate to many of the contexts of use in which a normative model might be required. To reflect the notion that relevant expertise is more important than identity as defined in the native-non-native paradigm, the final phrase 'who are accomplished speakers...etc.' has been included. Richards et al further specify uses and functions of a standard variety. Incorporating similar changes to those already suggested would result in the following:

A standard variety is generally

a used in the news media and in literature

b described in *relevant and appropriate* dictionaries and grammars, *which are usually based on corpora of language use specific to the context of a particular variety*

c taught in schools and taught to ~~non-native~~ second language speakers when they learn the language as ~~a foreign~~ *an additional language or as a lingua franca.*

What I have attempted to do here is provide an alternative means of conceptualising Standard English (or better Standardized Englishes) and the way in which this is used in pedagogy as a model. We need thus to move away from the ideological beliefs that so shape our understanding of what a standard language is, to realise that languages vary in important ways, and that language change cannot ultimately be stopped. We need in ELT to develop a less mythologized sense of standard variety, and to see a normative model as just that, a variety. This needs to not be a superordinate and uniform variety, somehow separate and protected from current usage, but a dynamic one, informed and updated by descriptions of

appropriate corpora. Standard in this sense does not involve uniformity, but a set of core features, that are changing but more gradually than the language resources as used in individual settings.

This thesis suggests very much that we can reliably describe those features of the lexicogrammar that are most characteristic in ELF communication. The following list represents a summary of the most notable features present in the data. The list largely confirms the hypotheses about ELF lexicogrammar presented in Seidlhofer (2004), and provides several additional ones besides. The labelling of these features is intended to reflect the fact that they represent active choices in the way the language resources are being used. It is particularly important to avoid any negative connotations in the naming of the items (as discussed at length in chapter 4) since this would undoubtedly weaken the case for including them in pedagogic grammars and dictionaries. Each of the following is widely attested in the corpus.

- Use of 3rd person singular zero
- Extension of relative *which* to include functions previously served only by *who*
- Shift in the use of articles, (among other patterns this involves preference for zero article where L1 article use is largely idiomatic, and preference for definite article to attach extra importance to a referent in a stretch of discourse)
- Invariant question tags (and use of other similar universal forms, such as *this* for *this* and *these*)
- Shift in patterns of preposition use, e.g. *we have to study about*
- Extension to the collocational field of words with high semantic generality, e.g. *take an operation*
- Increased explicitness, e.g. *how long time* in place of *how long*
- Preference for bare and/or full infinitive over the use of gerunds, as in *interested to do* rather than *interested in doing*, or as in *to study is...* and *to read is...*, where the infinitive is used as subject of a clause
- Exploited redundancy, such as ellipsis of objects/complements of transitive verbs, as in *I wanted to go with*, *You can borrow*, etc.

These are prime candidates for inclusion in language reference sources and language textbooks, and are thus presented here as being of particular interest in attempts to codify ELF. This will of course need to involve further discussion and evaluation of which features can be considered sufficiently core to be included in codifications of the language, but so long as these discussions are based on empirical data, and undertaken by groups with appropriate expertise, this is not problematic. In pedagogy there is inevitably some point at which an element of prescription is necessary. What these prescriptions must entail is an

element of choice, that is, multiple normative models from which learners and teachers can select according to a particular context and purpose. Descriptions of effective language use need to be prioritised above proscriptions about 'unacceptable' language usage. The data presented in this thesis provide examples of systematic and effective innovative language use, examples of productive engagement with a set of linguistic resources that culminate in what Leung and Lewkowicz (2006: 228) very aptly describe as a 'constellation' of features.

8.7 Summary

The scope and depth of the implications of ELF data for English language pedagogy are substantial. In this chapter it has not been possible to attempt a detailed account of all of the theoretical and practical implications of adopting a lingua franca perspective in ELT. Nor is it achievable here to propose detailed changes to the teaching, assessment and training curricula, so broad and far reaching is the scope of the task. The objective has been to address the full range of issues and begin to suggest ways in which the ELF debate and ELF data have very practical relevance to all aspects of language learning and teaching. As we have seen, this includes implications for the language syllabus, language assessment, teaching methods, materials development, and perhaps most importantly, teacher education. The tasks that face ELF researchers are made all the more formidable by the existence of attitudes that are largely conservative in nature, attitudes that seek the preservation of the status quo, and that tend not to welcome new debate. They are founded on prescriptive notions of language standards, and the kind of neo-conservatism Crowley (1999) describes in his critique of Honey (1997).

The term *fossilization* (e.g. Selinker, 1972/1992) is used in SLA to describe the process by which features of the interlanguage of an L2 learner have become fixed at some intermediate point along the continuum, where in other words their language knowledge has failed to fully develop, somehow falling short of the goal of full attainment of NS English. I believe it would be more appropriate to reserve this term for descriptions not of the repertoires of individual language users, but of the institutional practice of 'fixing' the language in time and space. Brutt-Griffler (2002) makes an important distinction between individual L2 acquisition and *macro-acquisition*. This we can quite usefully expand on with the term *macro-fossilization*, the process by which attitudes and beliefs become frozen in time. It is not the English of ELF speakers that is 'deficient' and fossilized but the monolithic view of

the language still so commonplace in ELT. This involves seeing English largely as a rarefied invariant language, fossilized and static rather than dynamic and changing, and it entails assuming an idealized inner circle speaker is always the best model of language teaching and language assessment regardless of context.

On a practical level, the implications described in this chapter are summarized further in the following table. These are organised according to who has most responsibility for implementing changes, each of which I firmly believe represents an achievable goal in practice.

Table 8.2: Recommendations for change in pedagogic practice

<i>Responsibility lies with...</i>	<i>Pedagogical changes</i>
	Teacher Education / Development
DOS / Educational management	Those responsible for the management of teacher education programmes and in-house schemes for professional development need to conduct regular seminar sessions on the CELTA and DELTA syllabus and assessment guidelines. There need to be thorough discussions of the practical implications and guidance on how to incorporate these in the input timetable and assessment of candidates.
Teacher Trainers	<p>Teacher trainers need to incorporate input sessions devoted explicitly to sociolinguistics, including a detailed introduction to issues regarding ENL/EIL/ELF and the questions of variety and normative model.</p> <p>Candidates on pre-service and in-service courses need to be given practical seminar sessions which focus on examples of language use taken from a wide range of different contexts, including outer circle and expanding circle Englishes. This will need to involve open discussion about the nature of 'learner language', re-appraisal of error, as well as re-evaluation of what constitutes effective communication. This will in particular include language awareness sessions devoted not simply to the teaching of discrete items but to the use of accommodation skills by accomplished ENL, EIL, and ELF speakers.</p>
Materials Writers / Publishers	<p>Writers and publishers need to reconsider to what extent, as well as in what ways, teaching and learning resources are based on corpus findings. There needs to be a considerable reappraisal of the nature of the language syllabus, especially in light of the following:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 3rd person 'S' ▪ preposition use ▪ verb complementation ▪ ENL collocations ▪ Idiomatic expressions ▪ Explicitness of meaning ▪ Ellipsis and redundancy <p>Writers and publishers need to access ELF corpora and begin to incorporate course book units, and grammar reference units that give details of ELF usage.</p>

ELF researchers / academics	Scholars working in ELF have a responsibility to engage with practitioners working in the field, to present research findings in accessible ways, and make available corpus data on ELF interaction. Researchers need to (in some cases continue to) work with teachers and teacher trainers on developing ideas for incorporating core features of ELF phonology, pragmatics and lexicogrammar in the teacher education curriculum and language learning syllabus.
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The final chapter will further conclude the research findings, and assess ways in which ELF researchers need to continue to gather empirical data and still further engage in the debates surrounding English use and English language education internationally. The conclusions will be drawn particularly in relation to the notion of language policy, language planning and work conducted in the field of critical pedagogy.

Chapter 9

Summary, final observations, reflections

9.1 Summary

This thesis has described (chapter 4) and undertaken systematic interpretations (chapter 5) of lexical and grammatical innovations in the use of English in two ELF case study settings. Subsequently the objectives were to situate my research, as well as the debate surrounding ELF more generally, within respectively the broader synchronic (chapter 6) and diachronic (chapter 7) frameworks. The findings, and my discussions of the global and historical contexts in which the research was undertaken, were then considered in light of the pedagogical implications (chapter 8).

This has involved in chapter 6 a review of discussions about the spread of English internationally in light of theoretical positions on globalization, aligning the primary commentators in the ELF debate with current views on the social and political world order as embodied by various means of conceptualizing globalization. I argued that adopting what can be described as a ‘transformationalist’ perspective, wherein the contemporary world is best defined as a period of significant social, political and cultural transformations, is of most relevance to ELF researchers. The demographic changes in English language use (especially as described by Graddol 1997, 2006), and the continued variability of English in lingua franca settings can be better understood in this light, that is, as fundamentally important transformations that are characteristic of late modernity.

In relation to the history of the language, I argued in chapter 7 that the linguistic developments currently emerging in ELF interactions can be analysed and interpreted in light of the historical evolution of the language more generally. The processes of change underlying the innovative use of English in lingua franca settings represent a continuation of a longstanding tendency towards shift in the lexis and grammar of the language. That we are currently in an epoch of increased interconnection, in which communication takes place as much between communities as within them, means that these processes of shift are in many cases accelerated. The findings presented in this thesis, and their implications for pedagogy are perhaps best conceptualized in relation to these phenomena.

Languages vary synchronically and languages change diachronically. In this research I have approached ELF from a descriptive linguistics perspective, in order to

carry out an investigation into the ways in which the language is varying in lingua franca communication. The research has also been approached from a historical linguistics perspective, with a view to situating current developments in relation to previous moments in history. In its past English has experienced similar periods of heightened linguacultural contact, which often resulted in similarly accelerated periods of change. The data I have described are presented as evidence that we currently find ourselves in a situation in which the language is developing in ways it has always developed, that is, in response to the purposes and experiences of those who use the language. Hitherto, these processes of variation and change have taken place in particular speech communities, leading to different native-speaker and nativized varieties of the language. What is different about the current situation is the unbounded nature of these phenomena – speakers from a multitude of linguacultural backgrounds regularly make use of the language in infinitely varied contexts and for unlimited functions. This takes place to such an extent that the ways in which these speakers innovate with the resources of the language have far reaching implications for descriptive and historical accounts of English.

9.2 Some final observations

A principal objective of this research was to collect and describe a corpus of spoken ELF discourse in order to assess these findings in relation to English language pedagogy and teacher education. The relevant key issues regarding these were addressed in depth in chapter 8. Nevertheless, I would like here to make one or two final observations and conclusions with regard to the pedagogical implications of my research findings and the ELF debate more generally.

The task of how best to engage with ELT practitioners and begin to move from meta-level discussions to implementation of even minor pedagogical change is a complex one. It requires a level of policy making and planning which will necessarily involve substantial reconceptualization and restructuring of the dominant paradigm. In chapter 8 I suggested that ELT as a profession, at least as practiced in the UK and within Western traditions of English language teaching, is currently underpinned by neo-conservative views, similar in kind to those Crowley (1999) describes in his critique of John Honey's text *Language is Power* (1997). Attempts to intervene in current practice may well be regarded as unwanted, and the motives of those seeking intervention might be approached with suspicion rather than an openness to engage in debate. ELF research,

especially given the growing momentum of discussions about language models and language testing, poses significant challenges to current attitudes toward English and English language teaching.

Nevertheless, despite the obvious challenges (Jenkins *in press* gives an extensive account of the attitudes of language teachers in response to her research into the *lingua franca core*), it seems we already have the beginnings of a movement in significantly new directions. Ferguson (2006), in a thorough account of language policy and planning in education, for example, provides an overview of the implications of ELF research to the selection of models for language teaching. Seidlhofer, Breiteneder and Pitzl (2006) observe how the teaching of general language awareness, with the objective of raising awareness of how different languages operate in communities, has in some contexts begun to be put into practice. Approaches of this kind are particularly important, as a move away from a focus on individual languages in isolation can be instrumental in advancing a better understanding of the roles and nature of languages in society. There is much to be gained regarding perceptions of language varieties if language learners and language teachers develop better awareness and understanding of multilingualism and the pluralism involved in many speech communities. This type of focus in language education may well be an important step towards any attempts to reconsider which language models to adopt.

Canagarajah (2005) argues for the adoption of a multi-norm approach, where standards that are described outside ENL contexts are applied when relevant. A locally defined English would be most relevant in settings where English is used primarily for intranational purposes. Elsewhere, however, in settings where the language transcends geographical and political boundaries, in other words in its majority use setting, these goals would more appropriately be defined according to what international corpora can tell us about *lingua franca* English, and how this varies according to context. Canagarajah suggests that a disciplinary shift is in fact already in progress, a shift that entails a move from a 'hierarchical approach' to a 'levelled approach', to a system of linguistic plurality where knowledge is locally defined and information flows are multilateral (2005: xxvii). It is essential that this shift continues, and that language teachers and teacher educators in mainstream ELT become more aware of these arguments. The hierarchical/levelled contrast is summarized in the following table.

Table 9.1: A 'levelled approach' to pedagogy

	Hierarchical approach	Levelled approach
Norms	Native and nativized Englishes Native and non-native speakers "Native" norms as target	Global English as a plural system Experts and novices in each variant Local norms of relevance
Expertise	Established knowledge Unilateral knowledge flow Researcher and scholar generated	Local knowledge Multilateral knowledge flow Practitioner generated and collaborative
Curriculum	Innovation and change Top-down	Continuity Ground-up
Pedagogy	Methods-dominated Skills-based	Postmethod Practices Project-based
Materials	Authenticity Published in the centre	Relevance Locally generated

(Canagarajah 2005: xxvii)

In this revised pedagogic framework, the words of the traditional paradigm, such as 'native', 'established', and 'authenticity', are replaced respectively by 'expert', 'local', and 'relevance'. These represent very important shifts in the professional structure of English language teaching. The 'expert' is contrasted with 'novice', where expertise relates to the level of knowledge one has of a particular variety of English. This is a very effective way of disentangling the discussion of models from the NS Vs NNS dichotomy, since in ELF interactions the L2 speaker will most often be the expert, and the L1 speaker is more likely to be a novice (cf. Deterding and Kirkpatrick 2006, for their assertion that speakers from Britain and the United States may need to undergo retraining if they wish to do business in Asia). This helps legitimise lingua franca forms, and enables English in ELF communication to be seen endonormatively. It also means methods can be determined as relevant to a particular context, making it more possible for learners and teachers to defer no longer to a hypothesized, idealized native speaker model. The shift towards a more 'levelled' approach is an effective way of summarising and representing the many different implications for pedagogy as raised by the continuing growth in empirical language data that are derived from sites of lingua franca interaction.

Canagarajah also describes current changes to the priorities of English teaching, where in practice, the notion of ‘repertoire’ is more important than ‘target language’, where correctness gives way to negotiation, and where mastery of grammatical rules is superseded by ‘metalinguistic awareness’ (*ibid.*: xxv). My own findings corroborate the need for such a shift to take place. Effective and efficient ELF communication has very little to do with adherence to native speaker norms or the mastery of some supposed, largely idealized grammar. It has much more to do with awareness of linguistic and cultural difference, and ability to accommodate towards an interlocutor. Many of the findings presented in chapter 4 represent innovations in the linguistic resources of English that derive from a number of motivational causes (see also Cogo and Dewey in press, particularly with regard to the notion of redundancy and efficiency of communication). These features are primarily the result of systematic shifts in the lexicogrammatical systems of the language, shifts which exploit redundancy, add explicitness and otherwise reinforce meaning to ensure successful and efficient intercultural communication. Canagarajah also describes the need for ‘new competencies’ in communication, highlighting how speakers need to do much more than acquire a single dialect of English. They need instead, he argues, to become “proficient in negotiating multiple dialects, registers, discourses [...] to function effectively in a context of postmodern globalization” (*ibid.* xxv). Interestingly, Canagarajah observes that extending the repertoire needs to be a goal not only in the outer and expanding circles, but also in the inner circle (cf. Kubota 2001; c.f. Deterding and Kirkpatrick 2006, as mentioned above; and c.f. Luk and Lin 2006 for their notion of ‘reverse training’ for ENL speakers).

The object of language learning has traditionally been seen as attaining membership of a particular speech community. Indeed, a number of influential theories of second language learning have developed sophisticated theoretical frameworks to explain the success or failure of language learning in terms of successes in joining the speech community (such as Schumann’s acculturation model, e.g. 1978). The situation of English language learning currently is very different. The language should no longer be associated with an individual speech community, or even with several clearly defined communities; rather, it is a language that is used as the principle mode of communication internationally. It therefore follows that ELT as a profession needs to reconsider its approach to language teaching, language assessment, materials writing, and teacher education. The data gathered for this research project provide additional evidence that

the paradigm shift in applied linguistic discourse needs to be better translated in practical terms in language teaching and language learning. This will entail an understanding of the political and sociocultural factors surrounding language learning and language use.

Joseph (2006), in a book length treatment of this topic concludes in the opening chapter that language is “political from top to bottom” (2006: 17), claiming that all language use is political, and no matter how ordinary and everyday an utterance may seem it has the potential to be either intended and/or interpreted politically. In his concluding chapter Joseph considers the implications of his arguments, two of which relate to views about standard languages. On the one hand there is the view that languages are “historical constructs, with a political process at their centre” (*ibid.*: 145), which makes it possible to obtain freedom from the rigid application of a native speaker model in language teaching. However, on the other hand, there is the view that language is not at all political, and therefore “resistance to it [the standard language], along with the new forms of the language which resistance engenders, are unacceptable” (*ibid.*). The crucial point that Joseph makes is that any attempt to promote an agenda based on the first view must anticipate considerable negative reaction based on the second, and must prepare counter arguments to deal with that reaction.

In chapter 8 I discussed how there have been some fairly widespread negative reactions to proposals about ELF, including by some scholars who themselves have had to make similar counter arguments in response to reactions about claims for the legitimation of nativized Englishes (see Jenkins 2006a for further discussion of the reception of ELF by World Englishes scholars). It has been my goal in this thesis to anticipate further negative reactions, and to present the data as empirical evidence in support of proposals about the legitimacy of ELF variation and innovative language use. There is clearly much more that needs to be done with respect to establishing a more pluralistic, less hierarchical pedagogic framework. Much further debate is needed, in which issues such as the nature of the language model used in the classroom should be discussed with a critical awareness.

A common theme in the debate about which language models are appropriate, for example, is the question of intelligibility. Perhaps somewhat problematically, mutual intelligibility is most often perceived as largely dependent on speakers conforming to the norms of Standard English. Seidlhofer (2005) makes the essential point that in discussions of language standards, the notions of ‘standard’ and ‘nativeness’ have largely been conflated, with the one seen as dependent on the other. This is problematic on

several levels, not least of which is the extent to which it facilitates continued maintenance of the status quo in ELT. The problem of this entanglement of native speaker/standard language is further compounded by attitudes towards plurality and difference, which often seem to relate to a sense of nervousness about variability. The human condition can to some extent be characterized by varying attitudes towards states of constancy and mutability. In relation to our perceptions of language, it would seem from the strength of feeling and emotiveness of the traditionalist view of language that we tend to find change in language unsettling. The attitudes of everyone involved in English language learning and teaching are crucial to the successful practical implementation of any ELF corpus-based findings, or the future acceptance of innovations.¹ The common trends of usage identified by empirical data such as those described here need to be presented primarily to language educators as part of their continuing professional development. But as Seidlhofer *et al* (2006) observe, it will doubtless require some time for the growing awareness of ELF and the collection of empirical data to bring about change in practice. I turn now to some final reflections on this research project and consider retrospectively the nature and limitations of the findings.

9.3 Reflections on the research and future directions

At the risk of cliché, this research experience has been something of a journey. Embarking on the project, I set out to collect data on the use of English in lingua franca communication by taking a close-up look at situated language use, adopting what Roberts *et al* (2001) would probably describe as 'linguistic ethnography' (and c.f. Rampton 2006, though his is a more micro-analytical perspective). My approach to the collection and analysis of the data has been primarily qualitative. As this project developed it enabled me to interpret the data to form, rather than test, hypotheses about the nature of lexicogrammatical patterns in ELF. I believe this thesis has uncovered some of the attributes of lingua franca communication, and has contributed to shedding light on the

¹There are aspects of ELF which are less likely than others to be regarded perpetually as error, i.e. the innovative features that also then subsequently become attested in ENL corpora. This is not necessarily the case, however, as attestedness is not the only factor to bear in mind; the use of some innovative features in spoken British English for example, such as *here's* and *there's* with a plural referent have long been attested in ENL, but attitudes towards them are still predominantly negative among ELT practitioners. There is little acceptance in pedagogy of these types of non-standard variants, as can be inferred from the number of course books that continue to devote a good deal of space to the presentation and subsequent controlled practice and testing of *there is* and *there are*.

conditions surrounding ELF communication, and the processes that lead to innovative uses of the linguistic resources that we call English.

Although a principal aim has been to allow the data itself to do the talking, so to speak, I have inevitably had to be selective with regard to which aspects of my corpus are included in the descriptions. The analysis has also necessarily involved some degree of inference and interpretation. The data have been investigated and described extensively but by no means exhaustively. There are in fact a number of additional features that warrant much closer inspection and much further discussion than has been possible here due to limitations of space.

Patterns of use with regard to *ing* and *to* are one such case. Their employment in ELF seems often to be quite distinct from the patterns of use found in ENL, in relation to which Huddleston and Pullum (2002) observe that the selection of one form over the other must be made lexically. They comment that a distinct meaning cannot be assigned to either form itself, and thus the selection cannot be treated as entirely semantically determined. However, they also point out that the selection of either *to* or *ing* by a catenative verb is far from random, and verbs with similar meanings will invariably favour the same form. In addition, when a verb allows both forms as complements, there is often a difference in meaning that is in part motivated by general properties the forms hold. The distribution of these forms in my corpus is worth investigating in this light. This may reveal a stronger tendency for these items to be selected on the basis of semantic properties, which would certainly be compatible with some of the other findings of my research. In a number of the innovations noted in chapter 4, for instance, grammatical structures appeared to display certain semantic properties that are not always present in the distribution of these items in standard ENL varieties. I discussed, for example, that where there is novel use of dependent prepositions, this is in part motivated by the semantic value that is often assigned to the preposition elsewhere. As described previously this seems strongly to be the case with the items given in figures 4.8 and 4.9, where for example *with* and *about* collocate respectively with verbs that express a meaning closely related to ‘accompaniment’ as in *involves with*, and ‘topic/theme’ as in *concerning about*.

Other areas that may shed further light on the emergence of distinct characteristic ELF features include the apparent differentiation between 3rd person singular zero and ‘s’ depending on whether the speaker is using a main verb or auxiliary verb. Thus far there seems to be a preference for the zero form in main verbs, and for ‘s’

in auxiliaries. Determining how typical this and other features are of lingua franca communication more generally will require much further data collection and systematic analysis of larger ELF corpora, followed by comparison of similar communicative events across different types of corpora. These would ideally involve both L1 and L2 Englishes to enable broader trends, differences, and similarities in patterns of language use that might be identified. Further qualitative research, and the integration of the findings of these with larger scale projects such as VOICE are doubtless necessary if we are to develop a both a bigger and more detailed picture of ELF. Furthermore, as mentioned in my summary of the research findings (chapter 4.3) a closer analysis of the interrelationship between pragmatics and the use of lexical and grammatical resources will also help to shed further light on the data. Nevertheless, it is hoped that this thesis has presented, while ultimately a partial view, a thorough account of situated lingua franca interactions.

This thesis has attempted to provide a systematic empirical study of the linguistic resources as used by ELF speakers. In doing so a principal aim has been to uphold the conceptual arguments made by ELF researchers by seeking to collect and analyse the data within newly defined frameworks and newly emerging methods. This has been fundamental to the approach adopted throughout this research, and necessarily so because of the unprecedented nature of the language use under investigation (a point I have re-iterated in many of the chapters, and a theme that underlies all of my treatment of this topic). With regard to the distinct nature of research into ELF, Seidlhofer *et al* make the following crucial observation:

Uncoupling the language from its native speakers and probing the nature of ELF is a special methodological challenge because most of the descriptive and analytic categories and approaches available have evolved through work on fairly stable codes in native-speaker communities, so these cannot automatically be assumed to be appropriate.

(Seidlhofer *et al* 2006: 21)

This thesis has inevitably needed to make use of some of the previously established descriptive and analytic tools, but throughout my research their application has always been critically evaluated, and wherever possible the existing frames of reference and analysis have been adapted to suit the situation with regard to ELF. Seidlhofer *et al* go on to conclude that it is probably premature to consider to what extent ELF in Europe (the focus of their discussion) might be regarded as a variety. In fact, we can take their comments quoted above a little further and propose that the term 'variety' itself is

perhaps one of those descriptive categories that might not be appropriate to a consideration of ELF at all. In all of the sociolinguistic studies which have made use of the term in the past, this has been in stable speech communities, native and non-native. ELF is fundamentally different for the fluid nature of the communities of speakers that use it, and the flexibility displayed in the way the linguistic resources are used. At the outset, one of my research questions addressed the issue of variety: *Can we identify systematic features common to successful NNS-NNS interaction that could then be considered characteristic of ELF varieties?* As this research progressed and hypotheses began to be formed and then reformulated, it became more apparent that in part the answer to this question was yes – yes, the data indicate very clearly that there are systematic features of innovative language use, and often these are shared across speakers of many different linguacultural backgrounds. The matter of whether or not we can describe these features in relation to notions of variety remains, however, an empirical question.

Some of the features attested in my corpus, say for example zero article use in place of ENL indefinite article, as in *I want to be translator or interpreter in the future* (T1: 24, L1 Korean) may be more characteristic of a particular type of ELF, say in this case a Korean-influenced ELF, than lingua franca communication more generally. These features might also prove to be characteristic of say a Japanese-influenced ELF, and so on. Further in depth investigations of ELF settings may also lead to the identification of variety features that are typical of regions, say an East Asian type of ELF or Euro English and so on. ELF speakers (just as ENL speakers do) have their own local and regional types of English, such as Italian English, Spanish English, Japanese English, the features of which become adjusted by means of processes such as accommodation when speakers participate in ELF communication. The features of lexicogrammar identified in this thesis indicate that there are emerging usages that are distinctive to ELF communication and that display some degree of stability. It may be premature to describe the innovations as indicative of ELF as a type of language variety in the conventional sense, but the evidence does show that there is at least an emerging agglomeration of language features that we can describe as characteristic of lingua franca communication, and which might in time prove codifiable.

It is essential that further empirical studies are undertaken, and especially from an ethnographically situated perspective (cf. Leung 2005 for a reappraisal of Hymes' notions of ethnography of language), to provide further qualitatively oriented descriptions, which can in time be cross-referenced with more quantitative investigations into lingua franca

language use (cf. Seidlhofer *et al* 2006). It is also essential that researchers working in different ELF contexts share their findings, and that we continue to debate the emergence of ELF as a distinctly new type of language use and as a distinctly new field of language research. It is important throughout to bear in mind that ELF is an especially characteristic phenomenon in the contemporary world. Ours is a world in which telecommunications and transport infrastructures have become in late modernity (for those who have access to the necessary resources) more extensive than ever before, resulting in increased language and cultural contact at regional and international levels. The use of English as a lingua franca has become unparalleled, a phenomenon which thus far seems to be intensifying still further through the increasing volume of movement and communications between states and regions. This is no doubt especially so with the continued digitization of all media, with which comes the possibility of instantaneous communication across any distance. The continued collection and analysis of empirical data of English as used in ELF settings is essential if we are to properly understand how these phenomena impact on language use. It is also fundamentally important that we reflect on this kind of data in light of its consequences for the way language is conceptualised and described in applied linguistics.

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Appendix A.1

Profile of Participants

<i>Participants</i>	<i>Nationality</i>	<i>L1(s)</i>
1 Kanako <i>f</i>	Japanese	Japanese
2 Sue <i>f</i>	Korean	Korean
3 Yoori <i>f</i>	Korean	Korean
4 Nathalie <i>f</i>	French	French
5 Kumi <i>f</i>	Japanese	Japanese
6 Andre <i>m</i>	Brazilian	Portuguese
7 Luca <i>m</i>	Italian	Italian
8 Chie <i>f</i>	Japanese	Japanese
9 Towa <i>f</i>	Japanese	Japanese
10 Setsuko <i>f</i>	Japanese	Japanese
11 Marco <i>m</i>	Italian	Italian
12 Karin <i>f</i>	Chinese	Cantonese
13 Kayo <i>f</i>	Japanese	Japanese
14 Cosimo <i>m</i>	Italian	Italian
15 Norma <i>f</i>	Mexican	Spanish/French
16 KiDoong <i>f</i>	Korean	Korean
17 Francisca <i>f</i>	Swiss	German
18 Inaki <i>m</i>	Spanish	Spanish/Euskera
19 Mariana <i>f</i>	Argentinean	Spanish
20 Elisa <i>f</i>	Italian	Italian
21 Andrea <i>f</i>	Brazilian	Portuguese
22 Natasha <i>f</i>	Swiss	German
23 Shiho <i>f</i>	Japanese	Japanese
24 Eun Ju <i>f</i>	Korean	Korean
25 Li <i>m</i>	Chinese	Mandarin
26 Fumitaka <i>f</i>	Japanese	Japanese
27 Takako <i>f</i>	Japanese	Japanese
28 Jing Jing <i>f</i>	Chinese	Mandarin
29 Woong <i>m</i>	Korean	Korean
30 Ying Ying <i>f</i>	Chinese	Mandarin
31 Pim <i>f</i>	Thai	Thai
32 Jidham <i>f</i>	Korean	Korean
33 Naoko <i>f</i>	Japanese	Japanese
34 Lucy <i>f</i>	Russian	Russian
35 Andreia <i>f</i>	Peruvian	Spanish
36 Nieves <i>f</i>	Spanish	Spanish
37 Harry <i>m</i>	Chinese	Mandarin
38 Rolland <i>m</i>	Chinese	Mandarin
39 Liao <i>f</i>	Chinese	Mandarin
40 Lyn <i>f</i>	Chinese	Mandarin
41 Cristina <i>f</i>	Chinese	Mandarin
42 David <i>m</i>	Chinese	Mandarin
43 Alice <i>f</i>	Chinese	Mandarin
44 Dao Shu <i>f</i>	Taiwanese	Taiwanese/Mandarin
45 Nuo <i>f</i>	Chinese	Mandarin
46 Mei <i>f</i>	Taiwanese	Taiwanese/Mandarin
47 Jing <i>f</i>	Chinese	Mandarin

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48	Tessa <i>f</i>	Ukrainian	Ukrainian
49	Ziad <i>m</i>	Pakistan	Urdu/Punjabi
50	Sabeen <i>f</i>	Saudi	Arabic/English
51	kyung-soon <i>f</i>	Korean	Korean
52	Jung <i>f</i>	Korean	Korean
53	Jia <i>f</i>	Chinese	Mandarin
54	Firuza <i>f</i>	Iranian	Farsi
55	Sarah <i>f</i>	Malaysia	Malay

NB – To safeguard the anonymity of all participants, pseudonyms are used throughout this thesis. In most cases these were chosen to reflect the linguacultural identity of the speakers.

Appendix A.2

Participant Consent Form

Participant Information

Title of study:

English as a Lingua Franca: an empirical study of innovation in lexis and grammar

I would like to invite you to participate in this PhD research project. You should only participate if you want to; choosing not to take part will not disadvantage you in any way. Before you decide whether you want to take part, it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what your participation will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully and discuss it with others if you wish. Feel free to ask me if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information.

Details of study:

This research project deals with the spread of English internationally. The main purpose of my research is to conduct an investigation into the ways in which speakers of different first languages use English as a means of international communication (English as a lingua franca). The research will involve the collection of a database (corpus) of spoken interactions that take place among speakers for whom English is not their first language. To this end, I will record and transcribe the conversations of participants in the study. I might also want to interview you about your conversations and ask for your opinions about the way you use the language. This project is not a study of English language 'errors'. My primary aim is to describe the choices that accomplished second language speakers of English make when they use the language with other second language speakers.

It is up to you to decide whether or not to take part. If you do decide to take part you will be given this information sheet to keep and be asked to sign the following consent form. If you decide to take part you are still free to withdraw at any time and without giving a reason.

Appendix A.2

Participant Consent

Please complete this form after you have read the above information and listened to an explanation about the research.

Confidentiality and Anonymity

Your identity, and any comments you make will remain strictly confidential throughout this study. When transcribing the data I will change the names of all of the participants, and any information that may identify you will be removed or anonymised prior to use.

- Thank you for considering to take part in this research.
- If you have any questions arising from the information given above or the explanation already given to you, please ask the researcher before you decide whether to join in. You will be given a copy of this Consent Form to keep and refer to at any time.
- *I understand that if I decide at any other time during the research that I no longer wish to participate in this project, I can notify the researcher and be withdrawn from it immediately.*

Participant's Statement:

I _____

agree that the research project named above has been explained to me to my satisfaction and I agree to take part in the study. I have read the above information about the project, and understand what the research study involves.

Signed

Date

Investigator's Statement:

I _____

confirm that I have carefully explained the nature and demands of the research to the participant.

Signed

Date

Appendix B

The ELF corpus

Duration: 7hrs – 52 mins – 54 secs

Transcribed data: 61, 234 words

<i>Date</i>	<i>Duration</i>	<i>Participants</i>	<i>Transcription</i>	<i>Setting and context of interaction</i>
9/04/02	10:32	Kanako L1 Japanese Sue L1 Korean	T1 ✓ 1067 words	Location: IH London Setting: ELT Classroom Interaction: Task based Each of the interactions in this set of recordings consists of two parts: the first involves the two participants asking each other a number of semi-personal questions of the type that are quite typical of part 1 of the interview paper for the main suite Cambridge ESOL exams; and in part 2 participants are asked to try and reach some kind of consensus on a set task, of the kind typical in part 3 of the same interview. For this recording the participants were first given a number of prompts on cards. They were given the cards to look through together for several minutes and asked to hold a conversation based on these. It was made clear that they should feel free to discuss as many or as few of these as preferred, and that they could ask each about the information prompted on the cards in any order that felt natural or comfortable to them. The main concern here was for participants to have some guidance and stimulus for conversation, but not so much so that this would be rendered wholly unnatural and artificial
9/04/02	11:57	Yoori L1 Korean Nathalie L1 French	T2 ✓ 1379 words	
9/04/02	09:41	Kumi L1 Japanese Andre L1 Portuguese (Brazil)	T3 ✓ 902 words	
10/04/02	09:05	Luca L1 Italian Chie L1 Japanese	T4 ✓ 837 words	
11/04/02	08:01	Kayo L1 Japanese Setsuko L1 Japanese Marco L1 Italian	X	

<i>Date</i>	<i>Duration</i>	<i>Participants</i>	<i>Transcription</i>	<i>Setting and context of interaction</i>
1/05/02	12:28	Nathalie L1 French Chie L1 Japanese	T5 ✓ 1483 words	Location: IH London Setting: ELT Classroom Interaction: Task based This series of recordings followed the same format as above. To form the basis of the conversation, participants were given a number of prompts from which to select, after which they were asked to complete a problem-solving task.
2/05/02	09:18	Luca L1 Italian Towa L1 Japanese	T6 ✓ 1104 words	

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3/05/02	09:20	Kanako L1 Japanese	T7 √	
		Sue L1 Korean	943 words	
3/05/02	11:09	Karin L1 Cantonese	T8 √	
		Andre L1 Portuguese (Brazil)	1236 words	
6/05/02	10:39	Kayo L1 Japanese	T9 √	
		Setsuko L1 Japanese	997 words	
7/05/02	10:45	Yoori L1 Korean	T10 √	
		Cosimo L1 Italian	1141 words	

<i>Date</i>	<i>Duration</i>	<i>Participants</i>	<i>Transcription</i>	<i>Setting and context of interaction</i>
3/06/02	04:16	Nathalie L1 French	T11 √	Location: IH London Setting: Student coffee lounge Interaction: Task based Format as above.
		Chie L1 Japanese	398 words	
3/06/02	04:02	Luca L1 Italian	T12 √	
		Towa L1 Japanese	560 words	
4/06/02	03:05	Sue L1 Korean	T13 √	
		Kanako L1 Japanese	357 words	
5/06/02	03:54	Yoori L1 Korean	T14 √	
		Cosimo L1 Italian	416 words	

Appendix B

<i>Date</i>	<i>Duration</i>	<i>Participants</i>	<i>Transcription</i>	<i>Setting and context of interaction</i>
4/10/02	10:12	Kumi L1 Japanese Norma L1 Bilingual French/Spanish (Mexico)	T15 √ 1588 words	Location: IH London Setting: Student coffee bar Interaction: Task based Participants were recorded in dyads discussing two separate tasks of approximately 5 minutes each. In the first of these a set of prompt cards were given out and participants were asked to select as few or as many of these as they wished to discuss and together decide loosely on a framework for their conversation.
7/10/02	12:54	Andre L1 Portuguese (Brazil) Ki Doong L1 Korean	T16 √ 1809 words	
8/10/02	09:05	Francisca L1 Swiss German Inaki L1 Spanish/Euskera	T17 √ 928 words	
13/11/02	09:32	Andre L1 Portuguese (Brazil) Ki Doong L1 Korean	T18 √ 1226 words	Location: IH London Setting: Student Coffee bar Interaction: Prompted The participants here were given 5 statements, each of which was intended to be controversial to maximize interest and motivation. Prior to the recording participants were given between 5 and 10 minutes to consider the statements and select as many or as few as these to discuss as they wished, negotiating with each other the topic(s) of the conversation. These statements were as follows: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Gay couples should be allowed to adopt children</i> • <i>Parents should be held accountable of their child's behaviour</i> • <i>Cars should be banned from our city centers</i> • <i>People should be allowed to use genetic engineering to pre-determine the sex of their child</i> • <i>The USA and UK are not justified in their proposed attack on Iraq</i>
14/11/02	07:14	Francisca L1 Swiss German Inaki L1 Spanish/Euskera	T19 √ 854 words	

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15/11/02	08:57	Kumi L1 Japanese Norma L1 Bilingual French/Spanish (Mexico)	T20 √ 937 words	A number of these, most notably the first and the last were chosen as they reflect very current issues that were at the time research was conducted appearing regularly in the media.
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<i>Date</i>	<i>Duration</i>	<i>Participants</i>	<i>Transcription</i>	<i>Setting and context of interaction</i>
18/10/02	07:19	Mariana L1 Spanish (Argentina) Andreina L1 Italian	T21 √ 946 words	Location: IH London Setting: Student Coffee bar Interaction: Prompted These conversations follow the format of the above recordings, with participants being given the same 5 controversial statements to choose from to form the basis of their discussion.
21/10/02	11:43	Elisa L1 Italian Andrea L1 Portuguese (Brazil) Natasha L1 Swiss German	T22 √ 1672 words	

<i>Date</i>	<i>Duration</i>	<i>Participants</i>	<i>Transcription</i>	<i>Setting and context of interaction</i>
10/04/03	12:15	Shiho L1 Japanese Eun Ju L1 Korean Li L1 Mandarin	T23 √ 2515 words	Location: IH London Setting: Off-site coffee bar Interaction: Prompted The format of these interactions is similar to those above. Participants wrote the statements themselves in an earlier session and then pre-selected from the following for their discussion:
11/04/03	19:01	Li L1 Mandarin Shiho L1 Japanese Fumitaka L1 Japanese Takako L1 Japanese	T24 √ 3362 words	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Gay couples should be allowed to adopt children.</i> • <i>The USA has too much power in the world.</i> • <i>Should children be brought up in the city or the countryside?</i> • <i>Euthanasia should be permitted by law.</i> • <i>Congestion charging is a good idea and should be introduced in other countries.</i>

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17/04/03	11:39	Li L1 Mandarin	T25 √	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Developing countries should take more responsibility for the protection of the environment. Abortion is morally wrong.
		Eun Ju L1 Korean	2325 words	
		Shiho L1 Japanese		
17/04/03	15:15	Fumitaka L1 Japanese	T26 √	
		Takako L1 - Japanese	1925 words	
		Jing Jing L1 Mandarin		
17/04/03	10:42	Woong L1 Korean		
		Ying Ying L1 Mandarin	T27 √	
		Pim L1 Thai	1490	
		Jidham L1 Korean		

Date	Duration	Participants	Transcription	Setting and context of interaction
11/06/03	15:00	Naoko L1 Japanese	T28 √	Location: IH London Setting: ELT Classroom Interaction: naturally occurring These recordings were made in an English language lesson interval at IH London. The teacher had made use of material in <i>Cutting Edge Advanced</i> , (Cunningham and Moor), which includes the topic of World Englishes. The first recording is of two participants expressing their reactions to this material, including a number of statements relating to the topic of the global spread of English. The second recording is of a three-way conversation between the two speakers in the first recording and their teacher discussing the topic of English worldwide.
		Lucy L1 Russian	2380 words	
11/06/03	23:02	Vicky L1 English	T29 √	
		Naoko L1 Japanese	4124 words	
		Lucy L1 Russian		

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<i>Date</i>	<i>Duration</i>	<i>Participants</i>	<i>Transcription</i>	<i>Setting and context of interaction</i>
1/08/03	11:22	Andreia L1 Spanish (Peru) Nieves L1 Spanish (Spain)	X	<p>Location: IH London Setting: Student Coffee bar Interaction: Naturally occurring</p> <p>The 2 participants are both teachers of English working in a language school in Lima, Peru.</p> <p>Both are experienced and established ELT practitioners who were attending a course at IH London, 'Training the Trainer', aimed at introducing the key concepts of language teacher education and training.</p> <p>The focus of the conversation related to a number of the aspects regarding the question of NS and NNS teachers of English.</p>

<i>Date</i>	<i>Duration</i>	<i>Participants</i>	<i>Transcription</i>	<i>Setting and context of interaction</i>
28/10/03	17:19	Harry Rolland Susan Liao L1 Mandarin	X	<p>Location: Shenzhen, China Setting: Bao An district High School - Teacher's canteen Interaction: Naturally occurring</p> <p>This conversation occurred over lunch between High School teachers, from a range of different schools in the district, all of whom had attended a conference talk on teacher training organized by International House London.</p> <p>The topic of discussion centred on a contrast between language teaching methodology in Chinese state education system and Western based communicative language teaching methodology.</p>

<i>Date</i>	<i>Duration</i>	<i>Participants</i>	<i>Transcription</i>	<i>Setting and context of interaction</i>
4/11/03	17:59	Lyn Cristina David Alice L1 Mandarin	X	<p>Location: Shanghai, China Setting: Company Offices, 'INTI' (Educational Training) Interaction: Naturally occurring</p> <p>This conversation took place in a company that operates an English only policy in its offices for one day each week. Communication between the office and external agents is</p>

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				<p>primarily in English, though intra-office conversation takes place almost exclusively in Mandarin. The only occasions when English is used are when there is a visitor who to the office who does not speak Mandarin or during the 'English only' day. This recording was made on one such occasion.</p> <p>I spent two weeks working with office representing IH London with the aim to developing a collaborative programme of pre- and in-service teacher training courses. I was there as the guest of the company, and spent considerable time in meetings and informal discussions with a number of members of staff. This has proved most valuable in terms of giving the researcher insight into the nature of this particular setting, especially with regard to the role of English in the company.</p>
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<i>Date</i>	<i>Duration</i>	<i>Participants</i>	<i>Transcription</i>
4/11/04	12:24	Dao Shu, Nuo, Mei Jing - L1 Mandarin Tessa - L1 Ukrainian Ziad - L1 Urdu/Punjabi Sabeen - L1 Arabic/English	T30 ✓ 3151

Setting and context of interaction

Location: King's College London
Setting: University cafeteria
Interaction: Naturally occurring

This is the first of a series of recordings aimed at gathering more naturally occurring data. The groupings range in size from around 2 or 3 up to 5 or 6, with a total sample size of 9. Participants were selected from a group of 24 students enrolled for the full-time MA in ELT & Applied Linguistics at King's College London for the academic year 2004-5. The total sample was selected on the basis of their level of involvement in class and extent to which individual class members had begun to form social groups during the intervals and outside of university contact time. It was thought that those who were more confident in taking part in classroom discussions and who I judged to have already established a pattern of social interaction would provide the most interesting and voluble data. The group met as a class for two three-hour sessions twice per week. The first recording was made during a class break in one of the afternoon sessions. Other recordings occur during other class breaks and lunch time periods. The intention was for this to become regular enough in occurrence for participants to take as little notice as possible of the recorder and become so accustomed to its presence that this does not inhibit their conversations nor have a significant influence on the topic of conversation or language use of the participants.

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By the date of the first recording participants have not yet started the sociolinguistics course they will be given on the MA, and which will include a session on World Englishes. They have however in the final session on the phonology course watched a video of an introductory talk on ELF and the lingua franca core given by Jennifer Jenkins at the British Council in Osaka, Japan in August 2003. This was followed up by classroom discussions with the researcher (their teacher on a number of the MA courses) on the question of adopting the lingua franca core as a pedagogical tool. They are therefore familiar with the notion of pursuing an ELF perspective in language teaching and have an awareness of some of the key issues involved. Some of them, especially if they are planning to write an assignment for the phonology course, are also likely to have consulted some of the literature, particularly Jenkins (2000).

Participants have all been informed of the general nature of the study, that the research is aimed at looking into the lexicogrammar of ELF, and informed that there is a series of planned recordings. All expressed an interest in taking part.

<i>Date</i>	<i>Duration</i>	<i>Participants</i>	<i>Transcription</i>	<i>Setting and context of interaction</i>
18/11/04	10:01	Jing L1 Mandarin Kyung-soon L1 Korean Tessa L1 Ukrainian Jung L1 Korean	T31 √ 2040	Location: King's College London Setting: University cafeteria Interaction: Naturally occurring This is the second in a series of recordings conducted with a group of participants enrolled as students on the full-time MA in ELT & Applied Linguistics at King's College London 2004-5. This transcription is part of a lunchtime conversation that took place in a college canteen between the morning and afternoon seminars on the MA programme.

<i>Date</i>	<i>Duration</i>	<i>Participants</i>	<i>Transcription</i>	<i>Setting and context of interaction</i>
7/12/04	12:58	Sabeen L1 Arabic/English Dao Shu Mei Jia L1 Mandarin Ziad L1 Urdu/Punjabi	T32 √ 4262	Location: King's College London Setting: Seminar room Interaction: Group discussion This is the third in the series of recordings with students enrolled on the full-time MA in ELT & Applied Linguistics at King's College. This conversation takes place in an adjacent room during the interval in the afternoon seminar close to the end of the first term on the MA programme.
23/3/05	13:50	Nuo L1 Mandarin Jia L1 Mandarin	T33 2920	Location: King's College London Setting: Seminar room Interaction: Group discussion This is the fourth and final recording of a group of MA participants. The conversation takes place during an interval

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		Kyung-soon L1 Korean		in one of the afternoon seminars, and occurs towards the end of the second term. This is a time when deadlines for essays are approaching and students need to begin choosing a topic for their dissertations.
		Firuzza L1 Farsi		

<i>Setting and context of interaction</i>				
<p>Location: King's College London</p> <p>Setting: Seminar room</p> <p>Interaction: Presentations / discussion</p> <p>At the end of the taught component of the MA programme participants are asked to give a 15 min. presentation on their dissertation proposals. The presentations, primarily developmental in nature, are intended as a discussion of work in progress, enabling participants to elaborate on their initial plans, early reading and data collection. At the end of each presentation there follows a brief comments and questions session with course colleagues and formative feedback from one of the course tutors. Most of the students giving presentations here were also part of the previous series of recordings conducted at King's, with the exception of Susan. All gave their consent to be recorded, though most preferred for the presentation only and not the discussion to be included. Melissa and Fatemah consented to the question and answer session being recorded as well as the presentation.</p>				
<i>Date</i>	<i>Duration</i>	<i>Participants</i>	<i>Transcription</i>	
16/6/05 rec. 1	18:47	Mei L1 Mandarin	T34 3040	Presentation and follow up questions/discussion
16/6/05 rec. 2	7:44	Sarah L1 Malay	T35 844	Presentation
16/6/05 rec. 3	8:10	Dao Shu L1 Mandarin	T36 868	Presentation
16/6/05 rec. 4	15:20	Firuzza L1 Farsi	T37 2307	Presentation and follow up questions/discussion
16/6/05 rec. 5	6:00	Ziad L1 Urdu/Punjabi	T38 937	Presentation

Appendix C

Transcription Conventions

Speaker ID	
K: S: Ji: Ju:	Speakers are identified by initial. In each case pseudonyms have been used to safeguard the anonymity of the participants. Where speakers in a data set share the same initial, the first 2 letters of the pseudonym are given.
SS:	Utterances spoken in unison by more than one speaker are shown as SS.
SX:	Utterances where the individual speaker cannot be identified are shown as SX.
Intonation	
T: next week?	Question marks are used to indicate rising intonation. These sequences do not necessarily have the syntax or function of a question.
Emphasis	
Z: so WHEN (.) will you be there?	Capital letters are used to show where a word or phrase has been given prominence. (All other parts of the transcription use small letters – orthographic conventions of capitalization have not been followed).
Pauses	
A: so you can just read them there and (.) take the notes T: so I won't be able to to come (.) I know it's going to be very very very busy S: hm that one looks good (..) and kick boxing	Brief pauses, up to a half-second are marked with a comma in parenthesis. Longer pauses are approximately timed to the nearest second, with full stops used to show the length of the pause in seconds.

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Simultaneous /overlapping speech	
<p>T: yeah <1> that's the council </1> that's er they are not you know (,) they are ok but</p> <p>A: <1> and the different councils yeah </1> (,) they are very good (,) I mean in my area it's a redbridge</p> <p>K: maybe they are using very old car that's why they produce a lot of erm:</p> <p>S: dirty air</p> <p>K: @@ ah dirty air yes</p>	<p>For utterances spoken simultaneously, overlapping discourse is marked with numbered tags: <1></1>, <2></2> etc., and the text is given in blue.</p> <p>Where utterances partially overlap, and interlocutors complete a speaker's utterance or supply a word/phrase, indentation is used.</p>
Continuation	
<p>Z: yeah I I have (,) hm</p> <p>T: but</p> <p>-Z: applied for the reference card ah</p>	<p>A hyphen before the speaker's initial is used to show the continuation of interrupted speech.</p>
Lengthening	
<p>T: what is a good idea I think is to: get to any other library (,) you know like any:</p>	<p>A colon is used to show lengthened syllables or individual phonemes.</p>
Repetition	
<p>T: but there is no point to go to a place where those boo:ks you know are you know are required by other students</p>	<p>All repetitions of sounds, words and phrases are fully transcribed.</p>
Discontinued/modified speech	
<p>Z: yeah but we - they can't borrow</p> <p>M: there's no point if you just wa - use</p>	<p>Changes in the syntax and fragmented words are marked with a hyphen.</p>
Laughter	
<p>N: camp in the library @@</p> <p>SS: @@@@</p> <p>N: <@> I'm kidding <@> @@ no way @@ yeah</p>	<p>Laughter is represented with the @ symbol, and the number of symbols approximately used to represent number of syllables.</p> <p>Utterances spoken with laughter are marked with tags <@></@>.</p>

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Uncertain transcription	
<p>Ji: (all this pressure) on women but er i don't know</p> <p>Ju: i'm twenty- (xxx) @@@ how old i am</p>	<p>Utterances which cannot reliably be identified are transcribed in parenthesis.</p> <p>Indecipherable speech is shown with 'x's in parenthesis, with the number of x's representing approximate number of syllables.</p>
Manner of speech	
<p>Ju: mmm yeah and er at first i think that er <loud>frankly speaking</loud> @@ (..) for the first er part of my marriage</p>	<p>Utterances spoken in a particular manner (fast, slow, quiet) are marked thus <loud></loud>, and so on.</p>
Contextual/non-verbal information	
<p><S: enters the room and joins the conversation></p> <p><SX: demonstrates a sword-like motion></p> <p><clears throat></p> <p><nods></p>	<p>Relevant contextual information, as well as non-verbal speaker sounds and feedback is all given in angle brackets.</p>

Date: 09/04/02 **Yoori** L1 - Korean
Location: IH London **Nathalie** L1 - French

Part 1

- 1 Y: erm: where do you live? which area?
- 2 N: er in london?
- 3 Y: yeah
- 4 N: ok er: in london i'm living erm in dalston (.) I don't know if you know this
- 5 place (,) it's er quite close to highbury and islington (,) do you know it?
- 6 Y: hmm (.) no
- 7 N: no (.) ah ok (.) and (,) and you where do you live in london?
- 8 Y: er: near bond street
- 9 N: (xxx) i don't know (.) where is it
- 10 Y: do you know oxford street?
- 11 N: yes (,) right
- 12 Y: i live (,) i live in the north (,) north of oxford street
- 13 N: aah (,) so it's very close to here
- 14 Y: yeah yeah
- 15 N: oh great
- 16 Y: yeah
- 17 N: that's good (,) that's an advantage
- 18 Y: yes
- 19 N: (...) erm (,) er what do you do for a living?
- 20 Y: hmm in (,) in my country?
- 21 N: yeah
- 22 Y: erm (,) i'm university student
- 23 N: yeah
- 24 Y: so i didn't (,) i didn't do anything for living (,) just i am studying
- 25 N: ah
- 26 Y: and ah (,) yes (,) hmm i have a part time job
- 27 N: yes
- 28 Y: i teaching (,) i (,) i teach (,) i was teaching high school students mathematics
- 29 N: hmm ah great
- 30 Y: er in korea... a lot of university students teach high school or (xxx) school
- 31 students (,) secondary school students
- 32 N: aah
- 33 Y: yes it (,) it's very well paid
- 34 N: aah that's really important actually
- 35 Y: very good job
- 36 N: yes sure
- 37 Y: yeah yeah (,) it's true (,) i did do
- 38 N: ok
- 39 Y: what do you do?
- 40 N: er well (,) erm i'm a marketing student
- 41 Y: aha
- 42 N: yes (,) so I decided to take a break and to come here
- 43 Y: hmm
- 44 N: and to to learn english
- 45 Y: hmm
- 46 N: but erm (,) erm do you have any reason for studying er english (,) in london?
- 47 Y: er: i i like er british english more than american English (,) in korea (,)
- 48 american english more popular than british english

- 49 N: yes
- 50 Y: we learn american english (xxx) in secondary school (.) so all (,) every @@@ all
- 51 of our dictionary is based based on American English
- 52 N: yeah
- 53 Y: but i i don't like (,) i don't like it i like to learn british english so i came here
- 54 N: ok ok
- 55 Y: hmm how about you?
- 56 N: erm
- 57 Y: you...do you have any special reason to study in london?
- 58 N: in london?
- 59 Y: hmm
- 60 N: ok hmm well (,) in fact er i have a friend who live er: who lives here so
- 61 Y: ah (,) aha
- 62 N: in dalston so this is a friend of mine who lived in france
- 63 Y: hmm
- 64 N: and she introduced me to her solicitor (xxx)
- 65 Y: aah
- 66 N: but i decided to come to london (,) in fact for me it's easier
- 67 Y: really?
- 68 N: and er: yeah (,) this is the: only for this reason
- 69 Y: do you have any reason to study english?
- 70 N: yes (,) i have one reason because erm: i think it will be really useful and
- 71 necessary for my future job (,) marketing
- 72 Y: ah
- 73 N: we really need to learn English and to to speak fluently so (..) this is <1> the
- 74 reason </1> that I decided to learn English
- 75 Y: <1> ah </1>
- 76 N: what about yourself?
- 77 Y: aah (,) hmm (,) i have high hopes (,) high hopes to become a member of U.N.
- 78 (,) united nations (,) so I have to learn english
- 79 B: ah yeah (,) sure
- 80 Y: @@@ i have to speak english fluently (,) and er: when i (,) when i studied at
- 81 university two years ago one professor always give- gave me english test
- 82 N: yeah?
- 83 Y: the (,) the test is- was terrible
- 84 N: why?
- 85 Y: one sentence is one paragraph
- 86 well sometimes it was terrible
- 87 N: oh (,) my god @@
- 88 Y: i can't find out why is there subject (,) why is there verb?
- 89 N: yes I see
- 90 Y: so hmm (,) i took much time to read the test so at that time i decided (,) i have
- 91 to learn english more
- 92 N: ok: interesting (,) erm (,) what's your future plans?
- 93 Y: future plans (,) hmm (,) i'm going to: i'm going to back korea (,) next january
- 94 N: hmm
- 95 Y: and then i'm erm (,) i'm (,) i will come back to my university and then after
- 96 two years (,) after two years i will graduate (,) maybe I might be graduate @@
- 97 university
- 98 N: aah
- 99 Y: and I want to study more abroad in london or in america
- 100 N: yes

- 101 Y: and then I will try to take test to enter in small business
 102 N: ok (.) hmm
 103 Y: what about? what's your future plans?
 104 N: well (.) to be honest i have no plan (,) no arrangement but (,) er at the end of
 105 june at the beginning of july
 106 Y: hmm
 107 N: I'd like to come back to france and: with the F.C.E. why not
 108 Y: aha @@@
 109 N: i hope so (.) and erm then perhaps i will see (.) i like to go to spain i need to
 110 learn spanish a little bit
 111 Y: aah
 112 N: it's better to know er two languages (.) but er I will see (,) I will see
 113 Y: (...) hmm (.) what do you do in your free time?
 114 N: in my free time? er: i like erm (,) i like chilling out
 115 Y: hmm?
 116 N: doing nothing
 117 Y: aah
 118 N: putting my feet up
 119 Y: @@@
 120 N: reading as well and er: I like erm (,) i like er: i like er doing my homework
 121 Y: @@@
 122 N: @@@ no that's not true (,) but er i have to so that's different (,) and visiting
 123 museums
 124 Y: aah
 125 N: how about you?
 126 Y: i like sleeping (.) so if possible i sleep in my free time (,) but er: nowadays i
 127 listen to the radio in my free time to practise listening english
 128 N: ah
 129 Y: yeah (,) and (,) oh i er and i like going to museums too

Part 2

- 1 N: so...what do you think? the most
 2 Y: most serious?
 3 N: yes most serious
 4 Y: hmm
 5 N: bit strange (.) the bird (,) it's dead
 6 Y: erm: (..) who's dead?
 7 N: yes i think it's a dead bird because after pollution
 8 Y: yeah yeah (.) hmm (xxx) er: I think er: (.) it's most serious
 9 N: yeah? this one? (,) with rubbish?
 10 Y: yeah (,) with er rubbish
 11 N: ah yeah (,) right
 12 Y: aah (,) in the future they don't (,) they don't any recycling so (xxx) if we don't
 13 recycle rubbish
 14 N: yes?
 15 Y: we some (,) we we we: will put them somewhere (,) somewhere
 16 N: yes (,) yes
 17 Y: actually er: in the future if we continue put (,) erm in the future everywhere
 18 will be rubbish
 19 N: ah yes (,) yeah i see what you mean
 20 Y: yeah (,) hmm

- 21 N: but er: for me it's er very dangerous (,) quite serious
 22 Y: yeah yeah (,) i think yes
 23 N: because if it can't (,) if it can erm: kills animals it can perhaps kills people as
 24 well
 25 Y: people yeah yeah
 26 N: so it could be quite dangerous and er: yes so (,) and which picture (,) so you
 27 think you think this this one is dan- is very serious
 28 Y: I think (,) both is is serious
 29 N: yes both that's true (,) but what do you think er about (..) sorry (,) about this
 30 picture?
 31 Y: erm nowadays-
 32 N: it's quite common
 33 Y: yes quite common
 34 N: er: lots of (xxx)
 35 Y: yeah (,) and er: we have (,) we have solution
 36 N: eh?
 37 Y: yes <louder> we have solution </louder> this kind of problem
 38 N: yes (,) i think (xxx)
 39 Y: erm (,) i don't (,) i didn't mean (,) i didn't mean that (,) I mean er now (,) now
 40 N: sorry
 41 Y: we have the solution about this pollution
 42 N: yes
 43 Y: many (,) many car don't use unle- unleaded- unleaded (,) unleaded petrol?
 44 N: ah yes (,) ok
 45 Y: so
 46 N: yes (,) so it's getting quite better
 47 Y: yeah yeah
 48 N: ok (,) er: i agree with you
 49 Y: hmm (,) hmm (,) thanks @@@
 50 N: but er... no no... that's true
 51 Y: hmm
 52 N: I think er: what's (,) what can we do for (,) for this picture? what can we:
 53 Y: why (,) why does (,) why does the the bird die?
 54 N: because of the pollution i think
 55 Y: ah: why? why?
 56 N: because er: eating er:
 57 Y: air? air (,) air pollution? air pollution
 58 N: yes air pollution i think yes (,) it could be that (,) i'm not too sure but (,)
 59 Y: hmm
 60 N: so (..)
 61 Y: hmm (,) perhaps er (,) I agree with you about er: about er (,) can be die
 62 N: hmm
 63 Y: because (..)
 64 N: (xxx) (...) er... that's not really easy actually (,) to find a solution
 65 Y: right (,) right i think er:
 66 N: what do you think about the picture?
 67 Y: (xxx)
 68 N: but er: but it's in in this place it doesn't matter (,) I think (,) we can't do
 69 anything about it
 70 Y: no they- ah reason (,) hmm it is the reason for air pollution
 71 N: yeah
 72 Y: so: in this picture or: in (,) in there in there (,) there are many er (xxx)

73 N: ah
74 Y: maybe becaus- because of this air is unclear unclean so bird will die
75 N: yes (.) because of that

Date: 03/05/02
Location: IH London

Karin L1 Cantonese (Hong Kong)
Andre L1 Portuguese (Brazil)

Part 1

- 1 Ka: so: what do you do in your free time?
- 2 A: ah (,) i usually go to the gym (,) i play tennis i play football (,) i go to the
- 3 cinema
- 4 Ka: yeah @@@ i know you do that
- 5 A: er what else? (,) yeah i go to my friends' house (,) what about you?
- 6 Ka: erm yeah i like erm: er swimming- go swimming and gym and go to park
- 7 jogging hmm and er: i enjoy chatting with friends listening music reading book
- 8 A: hmm (,) really? ah
- 9 Ka: yeah really (,) er: any reason for learning english? do you have any reason for
- 10 learning english?
- 11 A: yes er (,) er: there is a reason that i need english for my job (,) and (,) i can say
- 12 that learning english for myself - i'm learning english for myself. i like i like the
- 13 language (,) what about you?
- 14 Ka: yeah I: just er (xxx) thing i have to do er because in hong kong everybody er: in
- 15 some place you have to speak english well (,) yeah i mean for your job or: hmm (,)
- 16 hmm (,) and i also would like to go to a university here
- 17 A: hmm hmm
- 18 Ka: what do you feel about london?
- 19 A: hm (,) i yes i like london i think er: it's a cosmopolitan city that you: that you
- 20 can meet a lot of people from different countries er: you learn a a lot about different
- 21 countries and as well as this you can: do lot of things (,) it's a very big city (,) you can
- 22 go to the cinema theatres (,) galleries and (xxx) (,) and what about you how do you (,)
- 23 how do you feel about london?
- 24 A: erm i like london erm because i think here is great for study (,) and erm quite a
- 25 buzzing interesting exciting city in the world (,) and erm: music fashion or sports (,)
- 26 some things you hmm (,) london is a great place (,) and also i like here because it's near
- 27 europe and i can know more european culture (,) hmm (..)
- 28 Ka: what's your feelings about speaking english?
- 29 A: my feelings about speaking english? ah hmm @@ ah (,) sometimes i feel very
- 30 comfortable about speaking english but sometimes i i think it depends of the issue that
- 31 you are talking about er: if it's something easy that you are used to talk about- that you
- 32 are used to talking about then no problem (,) and what about you what are your
- 33 feelings?
- 34 Ka: er nowadays i feel quite confident about my speaking erm (,) er any topic (,)
- 35 although some- there there are lots of words i don't understand i can guess and i can
- 36 continue and er conversation so (xxx)
- 37 A: yeah much more confident yeah
- 38 Ka: and any?: your future plans?
- 39 A: future plans? yeah i'm planning to come back to brazil- to go back to brazil
- 40 and to find a job there (,) i hope in a bank to get a good salary a good position (,) and
- 41 what's your plans?
- 42 Ka: er... my plan after got a degree looking for a suitable job (,) erm: maybe this
- 43 country (,) maybe america or maybe in hong kong (,) er if i cannot got a satisfied salary
- 44 job i may start- have something my own
- 45 A: hmm hmm
- 46 Ka: yeah
- 47 A: ah really?

Part 2

- 1 Ka: erm this is about er plastic-
 2 A: <1> surgery </1>
 3 Ka: <1> surgery </1> and this is in a: operation
 4 A: what do you think about plastic surgery?
 5 Ka: yeah i'm quite open minded
 6 A: yeah?
 7 Ka: i think when i get- erm i'm getting older i would (,) i would do something
 8 when i am not satisfied
 9 A: yeah? i don't know (,) maybe for me i think i wouldn't do but it's much more
 10 common for woman you know (,) for a woman
 11 Ka: yeah i think for a woman now is you know two: two kind of people (,)
 12 one is very younger (,) very beautiful (,) they wanted more perfect
 13 A: yeah
 14 Ka: or: and another (xxx) group of people who are elderly (,) elderly people
 15 A: elderly
 16 Ka: ah like face lifting or something (,) make themselves feel more confident
 17 A: yeah
 18 Ka: and erm:
 19 A: how about this one?
 20 Ka: skydiving?
 21 A: yeah i really
 22 Ka: but it's some kind of show (,) you know it's like a professional things
 23 A: yeah
 24 Ka: they have a: different style
 25 A: but er i really like this kind of things (,) i like extreme sports
 26 Ka: i think it's exciting
 27 A: yeah it's very exciting
 28 Ka: but erm yeah i used- this this may day my friend was asking me to do that <2>
 29 and i think better after </2> after take exam
 30 A: <2> ah you should </2>
 31 -Ka: but not that just skydiving
 32 A: yeah but you should do that i have done
 33 Ka: but i think when the <3> the part of the free </3> fall (,) aah
 34 A: <3> it's incredible </3> i have done it. it's incredible this sensation
 35 Ka: hmm hmm (,) breathtaking
 36 A: oh yeah
 37 Ka: i know you have done (,) you told me
 38 A: yeah (,) oh it's incredible (,) you have to do it you know
 39 Ka: hmm (,) and (,) did you just er straight jump or someone persuade you or?:
 40 A: yes a double jump with some- er with an instructor
 41 Ka: yeah i know but er just at the poi- very point
 42 A: no forty seconds in freefall
 43 Ka: yeah (,) i know (,) before you- you in the plane
 44 A: AH (,) yeah? oh @@ i was scared you know and when they and when
 45 they opened the door of the of the plane i looked down (,) i saw the house very
 46 SMALL @@@ oh (,) and (xxx)
 47 Ka: did you just er straight or just you you you (,) you st - did you: erm
 48 want to stop (,) to jump?
 49 A: no no no no
 50 Ka: just er go- go ahead
 51 A: no no not really like that but i was scared you know (,) my face changed

52 Ka: yeah
 53 A: you can see in the in the video my change- my face changed (.) oh my GOD it
 54 was incredible
 55 Ka: right (.) i don't er afraid that but i just afraid in case er accident
 56 A: oh yeah
 57 Ka: i mean any sports i don't want to be so @@ er: unlucky
 58 A: but the sensation is fantastic
 59 Ka: ok (.) which one you think you: you would you would definitely not do it?
 60 A: if i had to choose one i i definitely wouldn't er: do a mohican with my hair
 61 @@@
 62 Ka: @@@ oh (.) yeah
 63 A: no look (.) look (.) look that oh my god
 64 Ka: fashionable
 65 A: yes too fashionable for me
 66 Ka: hmm yeah
 67 A: i couldn't do that it's (.) oh my god
 68 Ka: and (.) this
 69 A: i think i would like er a clown
 70 Ka: if i er if er if i had a choice i think i would like er maybe: became a doctor
 71 A: hmm
 72 Ka: and er i think that maybe you know very: hmm (.) successful if you have done
 73 something can help people
 74 A: ah yeah
 75 Ka: hm maybe:
 76 A: the the sen- the sensation is very good that you are doing something good for
 77 another person
 78 Ka: yeah (.) yeah
 79 A: it's really ni- very nice (.) hmm nice (.) er: (.) army?
 80 Ka: yeah
 81 A: er: what do you think about army?
 82 a erm (.) yeah but it's not the things i: interested
 83 A: yeah i'm not so interested as well
 84 Ka: i hope one day no army and this world is paradise
 85 A: yeah

Date:	10/4/03	Shiho	L1 - Japanese
Location:	IH London	Eun Ju	L1 - Korean
		Li	L1 - Mandarin

- 1 S: ok (.) so which one (.)
- 2 E: (xxx) couples is first?
- 3 S: (xxx) (...) ok (,) gay couples should be allowed to adopt children (,) what do
- 4 you think?
- 5 E: i agree with this
- 6 L: i don't agree with this
- 7 E: why?
- 8 S: why (,) why not?
- 9 L: i think maybe young children is- are really easy to change
- 10 E: hmm
- 11 L: if their parents (,) adopt parents
- 12 E: yes
- 13 -L: are gay
- 14 E: yes yeah
- 15 -L: maybe these children will go bad or bring up (,) become another guy- another
- 16 gay (,) it's not er very very healthy for the society
- 17 S: so you mean (,) you are against gays?
- 18 L: actually i:
- 19 S: or you don't agree
- 20 L: i i can't accept this thing you know
- 21 S: ah really?
- 22 E: hmm
- 23 L: this is a private things but (,) i don't think there are a lot of gay is unhealthy for
- 24 society
- 25 S: yeah (,) yeah of course
- 26 E: yeah
- 27 L: <1> but you know </1>
- 28 S: <1> it's their na - nature </1>
- 29 -L: the parents is really important for bringing up the children
- 30 S: <2> yeah yeah </2>
- 31 E: <2> yeah that's true </2>
- 32 L: so if the parents is guy- is gay sorry is gay
- 33 E: yeah yeah
- 34 S: but (,) but you know but (,) they're not their natural children (,) i mean they
- 35 are adopted child so i maybe they can learn a lot from their parents
- 36 E: yeah yeah
- 37 -S: but their nature is not gay (,) maybe their (,) their children's nature is: might be
- 38 gay (,) but might not be gay
- 39 E: yes i agree with er with you (,) i'm- i think (,) i ag- i'm for gay couples
- 40 S: hmm hmm
- 41 E: it's their nature
- 42 S: me too yeah
- 43 E: yeah (,) hm i can't do anything (,) if i fall in love with women i can't do
- 44 anything (,) <3> just it's nature </3>
- 45 S: <3> hm i think (,) yeah </3>
- 46 -E: it's instinctive (,) but i i'm i'm not agree with the adopted children because
- 47 children need some role model
- 48 S: yeah (,) yeah yeah

- 49 E: they need a mother and they need a father but (.) and here they (.) just children
 50 was
 51 S: hmm
 52 -E: brought up by gay couple (.) just only two men
 53 S: hm (.) men
 54 E: so i think they need a mother
 55 S: mother yeah (.) mother role yeah
 56 E: i think yeah if the children were brought up by the gay couple it is easy- it is
 57 easy to become gay
 58 S: ah (xxx)
 59 E: <4> hm (.) yeah </4>
 60 S: <4> yeah (.) we can change </4> that
 61 E: thanks
 62 L: well in china i i read some news about the children you know
 63 E: yeah
 64 L: if their parents are normal <5> but </5>
 65 S: <5> hmm? </5>
 66 -L: but they treat this child as erm opposite er sexual (.) for example he's a boy
 67 E: oh (.) yeah
 68 L: but his parents really like to have a girl (.) have a daughter
 69 E: yeah (.) yeah
 70 L: and maybe they treat <6> their boy </6>
 71 E: <6> yeah? </6>
 72 -L: like a girl like a girl
 73 E: ah
 74 L: they give her- give him girls clothes
 75 E: yeah
 76 L: they bring (.) this gir- this boy up to be a girl
 77 S: yeah
 78 -L: how to do something like a girl
 79 S: yeah
 80 E: hm
 81 L: and then maybe after the growing up this boy will change in his behaviour
 82 S: <7> yeah </7>
 83 E: <7> yeah </7>
 84 S: yeah (.) so in:
 85 L: it's very dangerous you know
 86 E: yeah yeah
 87 S: erm (.) the interesting is: it's quite easy to change your you know your nature
 88 L: yeah
 89 E: yeah
 90 S: so:
 91 L: yes (.) maybe their body also is a boy but their behaviour (.) their thought their
 92 characteristic will be just like a girl you know
 93 S: yeah
 94 L: it's very very harmful for the the society (.) so i don't agree:
 95 S: yeah (.) for children it's a bit (.) you know (.) problem
 96 L: yeah
 97 E: yeah that's true
 98 S: maybe might be problem (.) but gay couple (.) maybe lots of gay couple long
 99 <8> for having children </8>
 100 E: <8> yeah, yeah </8>

101 -S: so it's very sad
 102 L: they fall in love you know so they, they want to have a real family
 103 S: yeah so it's also the same love
 104 E: yeah
 105 S: not different from heterosexual couple
 106 L: so the father (.) mother and the the child but er:
 107 S: yeah (.) yeah
 108 E: so when i was korea but (.) coming out (.) can i say coming out? coming out
 109 gay is:
 110 S: yeah yeah
 111 E: (xxx) we feel shame
 112 S: really
 113 E: so one of the entertainment (xxx) are gay so
 114 S: hm
 115 -E: if he said i'm gay everyone are very upset and he can't
 116 S: ah
 117 E: on the television because lots of person (xxx) him to- on television (.) so (.) and
 118 here i was very surprised at-
 119 S: really?
 120 E: free erm (xxx)
 121 S: yeah very free
 122 E: yeah
 123 S: maybe hm japan is more acceptable than korea
 124 E: ah (.) acceptable yeah
 125 S: erm actually i'm- i intend to talk about gay or lesbian couple
 126 E: yeah
 127 S: or heterosexual as my presentation but-
 128 E: yeah
 129 -S: i've got some (.) gay and lesbian (.) bi-sexual friends <9> in japan so: </9>
 130 E: <9> yeah (.) ah yeah </9>
 131 -S: i can (.) accept them naturally
 132 E: yes i never mind
 133 S: yeah
 134 E: but... i think adopt children <1> is a little bit different </1>
 135 S: <1> children yeah (.) maybe they: </1>
 136 -E: problem i think
 137 S: maybe because of the gay parents
 138 E: hm
 139 S: maybe they suffer from some bully or
 140 E: yeah
 141 L: (xxx) people always look down on the the gay couple
 142 S: ah yeah not all the people accept them
 143 E: it's true (.) it's true yeah
 144 S: hmm
 145 L: in theory i can accept the gay couple
 146 E: yeah
 147 L: but er actually you know when i: go to the pub
 148 E: hm
 149 L: or park
 150 E: hm
 151 L: or when i see some gay or lesbian
 152 E: <2> yeah </2>

153 S: <2> yeah </2>
 154 L: i always stare at them
 155 S: ah really @@@
 156 L: for some- yeah for a few minutes you know (,) hm
 157 E: but when i was korea i did but now i changed a lot i: open minded
 158 S: yeah
 159 -E: i am open minded about the gay couple
 160 S: ah
 161 L: but i (,) you know (,) er a few days ago when i went to the green park
 162 E: yeah
 163 L: i saw: two young ladies
 164 E: yeah
 165 L: ki- kiss each other
 166 S: hm hm
 167 E: yeah @@@
 168 L: not just kiss face you know
 169 S: hm hm
 170 E: yeah
 171 L: a real kiss
 172 E: yeah
 173 S: @@@@
 174 L: my- i i know they are lesbian
 175 E: yeah
 176 L: i can accept but (...) it's a little bit strange for me
 177 S: ah
 178 E: hm yeah
 179 L: so: i i stopped walking and er
 180 S: @@@@
 181 -L: watched them for a few minutes
 182 S: oh
 183 L: i know it's not polite
 184 S: hmm
 185 E: yeah
 186 -L: but it's er still strange for me (,) for normal people yeah
 187 E: it's true
 188 S: yeah but
 189 E: and the other problem is when the children was broughted up by gay couple
 190 went to the- er a a school
 191 S: hm hm
 192 E: i think people er the other students pick them: up? (,) pick them up? how can i
 193 :? tease off
 194 S: yeah (,) hm tease off and maybe bully and:
 195 E: yeah (,) yeah so
 196 S: maybe (,) and er also teacher (,) teacher also i think may be i think upset
 197 E: yeah
 198 S: and erm (,) they don't know how to deal with
 199 E: yeah
 200 L: discrimination
 201 S: hmm
 202 E: and here the society can: upset (,) but a little we have some prejudice about
 203 gay couple
 204 S: hm (,) yeah that's true

205 E: yeah so
 206 L: so we have the same opinion
 207 E: yeah
 208 S: yeah (,) same opinion
 209 E: hm (,) so u.s.a. has too much power in the world
 210 S: @@@
 211 E: do you think? do you agree with that?
 212 S: hmm
 213 L: i don't think so
 214 E: you don't think so?
 215 S: but-
 216 L: yeah i think it's very common you know
 217 S: yeah lots of thi- lots of people think you- american people think
 218 E: yeah
 219 S: they are the center of universe
 220 E: hm yeah
 221 S: and they- maybe they want to be: a hero @@@
 222 E: yeah (,) i think they control all the world
 223 S: yeah
 224 E: it seems like they control all of the world
 225 S: yeah but actually they have a power maybe
 226 E: yeah (,) it's true
 227 L: yeah
 228 E: because economy is very:
 229 S: yeah
 230 L: but i think it's common (,) for example (,) you know
 231 S: what do you mean common?
 232 L: in in your family
 233 E: yeah?
 234 L: there are persons (,) your mother your father control your family
 235 E: yeah
 236 S: hmm
 237 L: and er in your country
 238 E: yeah
 239 -L: there must be a person control your country
 240 S: hmm
 241 E: yeah
 242 L: prime minister
 243 S: yeah erm:
 244 L: in my country it is the president
 245 S: hm hm
 246 L: it's very: (,) very important for family or for society (,) for country
 247 S: for country yeah but-
 248 E: (xx xx)
 249 S: but united states-
 250 L: i mean in the world you know if the u.s.a. <3> wasn't </3> the too
 251 powerful country
 252 E: <3> yeah <3>
 253 -L: there must be another country will instead of the u.s.a.
 254 E: yeah i i agree with you
 255 L: yeah
 256 E: you er: you-

257 L: i don't care you know
 258 S: @@@
 259 L: i don't care
 260 S: hm
 261 E: yeah (,) but the family er consists of all people (,) for example four people
 262 S: hm hm
 263 E: father mother and two children
 264 L: hmm
 265 E: i know father or mother are (,) control the
 266 S: yeah (,) family
 267 E: it is very very important the law
 268 S: hmm
 269 E: but they have to accept their other people's opinion
 270 S: yeah yeah
 271 E: they have to: (,) negotiate
 272 S: <4> yeah negotiate (,) cooperate <4/>
 273 E: <4> yeah they have to, they have to </4>
 274 -S: with each other
 275 -E: accept the other per- but i think the united states
 276 S: united states they don't
 277 E: yeah the united states they do everything which they want
 278 S: yeah
 279 E: they-
 280 S: a bit bossy @@@
 281 E: yeah (,) for example in this war
 282 S: hm
 283 -E: it is for oil (,) i think
 284 S: hm
 285 E: er they think they they broke out the war because of the er people (,) iraqi
 286 people make the free
 287 S: hmm
 288 E: so (,) but i don't- just in my mind (,) my- as far as i'm concerned they broke
 289 out the war because of the oil
 290 S: yeah
 291 E: it's a very selfish thing
 292 S: maybe they maybe they use the name of iraq people
 293 E: yeah?
 294 S: set (,) set free
 295 E: yeah
 296 S: yeah
 297 L: but but i don't agree (,) maybe the iraq people were killed a lot of people you
 298 know
 299 S: hm
 300 L: but they will get the real freedom
 301 E: yeah (,) yeah
 302 L: before i came to meet you you know i saw some news from the internet
 303 E: yeah
 304 L: er one person said (,) maybe twenty years ago he- iraq
 305 E: yes
 306 S: hmm
 307 -L: er cost of- not cost of- the payment of the people was
 308 E: yes

309 -L: hm four thousand u.s. dollars every year
 310 S: yeah (,) ah every year?
 311 L: it's quite low- no no- it's quite high
 312 S: yeah
 313 L: it's higher than my country now
 314 E: hm hm
 315 L: but er today in in iraq before the war people (..) suffering you know (,)
 316 people's life were really suffering because saddam hussein is really:
 317 E: yeah
 318 S: hmm
 319 L: dictator
 320 E: (xxx) yeah dictator like (xxx)
 321 L: yeah yeah
 322 S: so:
 323 E: i i agree he's: i think he's crazy
 324 L: yeah
 325 S: yeah he's crazy
 326 E: yeah
 327 S: he isn't normal @@@
 328 L: so i: i support the war (,) i know maybe the government of the u.s.a. you know
 329 erm: fight with iraq for their (.) benefit
 330 E: hmm
 331 L: but it's (,) also it's useful for some people
 332 E: but have you ever saw- have you ever seen the picture?
 333 S: yeah
 334 -E: who are suffering from the illness- er not illness (,) injure- injury
 335 S: injured
 336 E: er wound?
 337 S: wound yeah
 338 E: i saw picture
 339 L: but this is war you know
 340 S: but er they are sacrifice
 341 E: yeah
 342 L: yeah
 343 S: they are innocent so maybe
 344 E: yes
 345 S: <5> hmm (,) it's very difficult </5>
 346 E: <5> i think it's not good to think </5>
 347 S: hm
 348 -E: to make a sacrifice some- one people because of-
 349 S: yeah they are innocent
 350 E: er because of the whole benefit
 351 S: hmm yeah
 352 E: yeah it's true
 353 L: different people have different opinion
 354 S: yeah
 355 E: we have to respect all people, we are all individual
 356 S: hmm
 357 L: i mean you know in my opinion i mean the world
 358 E: yeah
 359 L: the whole of the world need a powerful country
 360 E: yeah

361 S: hmm
 362 E: it's true
 363 L: yeah erm (.)
 364 E: but the powerful country do well (,) have to- should do well (,) how can i say?
 365 er:
 366 S: hmm
 367 L: country i think (.) country and government is er too
 368 S: (xx xx)
 369 E: yeah
 370 S: hmm
 371 L: they have to do something for theirsself
 372 E: yeah
 373 S: hmm
 374 L: even your country (,) or my country (,) will become (,) will become the
 375 powerful er country in the world
 376 S: hmm
 377 L: they will do something for their people or government (,) it's common
 378 S: hmm
 379 E: but they have to
 380 L: i can understand you know
 381 E: they have- they should think the world is consist of lots of countries
 382 S: yeah lots of countries (,) different
 383 E: yeah they have to respect all that world
 384 S: yeah all the countries (,) way of thinking (,) way of (...) (xxx)
 385 L: i think if you can respect all of the country, <6> all of the people </6>
 386 S: <6> yeah it's very hard </6>
 387 -L: you couldn't be the powerful
 388 S: hmm (,) hmm @@@
 389 L: you know what i mean (,) you know
 390 S: yeah
 391 E: i know <7> it's very difficult to be like </7> that
 392 S: <7> i i know what you mean </7>
 393 L: yeah
 394 S: hmm
 395 E: yeah
 396 L: you couldn't do: you know in (,) in china we have a very old thing about the
 397 chef
 398 E: yeah yeah
 399 S: hmm
 400 L: although you are the best chef in the (,) in the world but you couldn't do any
 401 (,) anything to satis - satisfy everybody's taste
 402 S: hm
 403 E: yeah
 404 S: because everybody has a different taste
 405 L: yeah (,) yeah
 406 S: and opinion (,) yeah yeah
 407 L: so difficult
 408 E: yeah
 409 S: yes
 410 L: so maybe you think (..) u.s.a. is a really really bad country
 411 E: no
 412 S: no no (,) not bad (,) but i just (xxx)

413 L: the government
414 E: yeah
415 S: yeah they control too much
416 L: yeah
417 E: some thing some (,) some thing they do bad
418 S: hmm
419 E: i (,) i know they have lots of (xxx) they have
420 S: hmm
421 E: they (,) they try to make world peace
422 S: yeah yeah
423 E: but sometimes i'm very:
424 S: yeah (.) it's (.) yeah
425 E: i felt sad
426 S: i agree with her
427 E: yeah i don't like that country's policy
428 S: ok

Date:	11/6/03	Vicky	L1 English
Location:	IH London	Lucy	L1 Russian
		Naoko	L1 Japanese

- 1 V: what do you think to this idea?
- 2 L: erm (,) i think it will er help us to (,) er (,) to: LEARN english more quickly and
- 3 er to more er- less less er harder <1> (xx) <1> for them
- 4 V: <1> yeah </1>
- 5 L: because it's it's hard job to study english and espe - especially when you study
- 6 a lot and er you GO home and you switch on t.v. or you go to associate with er with
- 7 english pe- people? you can't understand because they use- they use er er: (,) idioms
- 8 collocations and things like that
- 9 N: hmm
- 10 V: and the pronunciation <2> as well </2> i think is a really big difficulty for
- 11 learners isn't it (,) because- cause you link so much of it together as a native speaker (,)
- 12 so i actually have to spend a lot of time showing my learners what we do so that they
- 13 can understand <3> me </3> you know (,) so: yeah you're right it (,) it will become a
- 14 lot easier
- 15 N: <2> hmm hm </2> <3> hmm </3> yeah but (..) yes the- my opinion is the
- 16 meaning of (,) you know a single word a:nd- change- and er no no what's the word?
- 17 (..) the change the meaning of word and the change structure or (,) a RULE of
- 18 grammar-
- 19 V: yeah
- 20 -N: i think that (,) hm you know they're different (,) probably yes (,) the er
- 21 meaning of word is changing every day and day
- 22 V: yeah it does yeah
- 23 N: but (,) i i'm not- i can't bear with change- changing rule- basic rule because (,)
- 24 why? why we need to change rule i mean:
- 25 V: well i think that really it- the point is it would happen quite naturally that it
- 26 would just become acceptable (,) i mean it's interesting (,) coz lucy you say that when
- 27 your friend speaks (she) makes a lot of mistakes and you can't BELIEVE that she
- 28 makes so many mistakes even though she can communicate
- 29 L: what do you mean you can't believe?
- 30 V: well you sa- no you said YOU couldn't believe it
- 31 L: yeah just i don't i don't like it
- 32 V: yeah (,) ok
- 33 L: i i don't know what you mean by er er i can't believe it
- 34 V: yeah that's what i mean that you don't like it
- 35 L: ok <@> yeah sorry </@> and yeah it sounds sounds awful (,) for me (,) i don't
- 36 know
- 37 N: hm hm
- 38 L: what what do you think? how how does er: (..) <4> wha - wha how er:? </4>
- 39 V: <4> how does it sound to me? </4>
- 40 L: yeah (,) how does it for you- d- does it sound for you?
- 41 V: hmm <5> hmm </5>
- 42 N: <5> hmm </5> that's interesting
- 43 V: it's really difficult
- 44 N: i mean as a native speak-
- 45 V: yeah it's tricky question
- 46 -N: as a native speaker when you heard or: when you heard when you heard
- 47 YOUR english or your own mother tongue is: getting change- er is changing

- 48 V: yeah
- 49 N: or is changed by non native <6> speakers </6> what do you think about it?
- 50 V: <6> yeah </6> well (,) it's difficult for me because i think that if (,) for example
- 51 if it was (,) if you were talking to a friend of mine who wasn't a teacher ah they
- 52 wouldn't bother about it (,) i don't think that they would really mind
- 53 N: hmm
- 54 V: but because i'm a teacher
- 55 N: hm yes
- 56 V: and because i've tried to (,) you know (,) focus on it (,) but i know that for
- 57 example third person s (,) there's no point correcting people there is no point because
- 58 nothing happens
- 59 N: @@
- 60 V: you can point it out again and again and as soon as you say what's wrong
- 61 with this? people know what's wrong with it but (,) they can't use it until they're
- 62 ready to use it so there's- i actually don't even bother with it anymore
- 63 N: right
- 64 V: in co- you know (,) it if i had to: er depends if i'm teaching students who are
- 65 doing exam courses <7> and all that </7> and then accuracy might be more of a
- 66 feature might be more of a problem like say if you were doing c.a.e. or something like
- 67 that (,) cambridge advanced then i'd have to say look you really need to look for this
- 68 <8> in your written work </8> because they'll pick up on it but generally i don't think
- 69 there's an awful lot of point
- 70 N: <7> hm hm </7> <8> @@ hm </8> my my tutor used to correct me when i
- 71 use er: wrong sentence (,) like he go or (,) he think
- 72 V: yeah yeah
- 73 N: er: you did criminal criminal mistake
- 74 V: really?
- 75 N: yes
- 76 V: how did that make you feel though?
- 77 N: hh for ME it's ok it's great because i make mistake (x) so: i said i said- i asked
- 78 him please please correct my sentence as (,) you know as much as you can (,)
- 79 V: yeah
- 80 N: because otherwise (,) i won't notice my mistakes
- 81 V: yeah but i mean do you think it's more? (,) well i mean do you think do you
- 82 think it's more important to be able to understand people- to communicate with
- 83 people than it is to: have-
- 84 N: the grammar?
- 85 V: yes
- 86 N: ac- accuracy? hm
- 87 V: yes i mean do you think it- that being able to communicate is more
- 88 impor:tant than actually hav- producing one hundred percent correct language
- 89 N: hm
- 90 L: of course it's important to understand first of all
- 91 N: yeah
- 92 L: and after that accuracy
- 93 V: right
- 94 N: because you know when:
- 95 V: yeah
- 96 N: hh i think you know when people get to know each other more and more
- 97 probably they become (,) they don't mind or you know they try to understand each
- 98 other hh but first met (,) when i first- er when i <@> meet </@> somebody new or
- 99 somedody (,) who i don't know or we don't know each other before (..) it's it's difficult

100 to understand without correct grammar or correct pronunciation do you know what i
 101 mean?
 102 V: yes so don't- yeah i mean if you if you can't understand somebody then
 103 obviously (..) you need to <9> work on that </9>
 104 N: <9> so to start </9> to start communication i think (,) yes it's hm
 105 V: hh let me ask (,) er what do you think about you kind of as speakers of
 106 international english having the power to change english?
 107 N: hh @
 108 V: i mean-
 109 N: for native speaker it's it's good
 110 V: yeah?
 111 N: it's good i think for native speaker
 112 V: for non natives or for natives?
 113 N: ah ah sorry for non native speaker?
 114 V: yeah
 115 N: bu:t
 116 L: i would have changed (,) a rule- er rules because erm i think it's much more
 117 easier to: to speak without 's' or to: to for example to use plural or all all plural but er
 118 as for- as she said about er you know news- er new- er: er:
 119 V: information
 120 L: information
 121 V: yeah
 122 N: hmm
 123 L: it's (,) complicated
 124 V: yeah
 125 L: i mean and you spend lots of energy (,) lots of time to: to remember these but
 126 when you speak actually with a: - and doing these efforts and after then you- er
 127 another one er just talking er bad grammar and everybod- everyone can understand (,)
 128 this person so you mean why- why make these er these efforts?
 129 V: yeah
 130 L: i'm: spending lots of time to: in order to do that?
 131 V: yeah
 132 L: and after i i have the same result as as another person who: who make these
 133 mistakes
 134 V: yeah
 135 L: so i feel disappointed because i spend my time and er: there is no reason for
 136 them
 137 V: yeah
 138 L: for for native speakers they er (,) accept me as well as they accept her
 139 V: yes (,) but i mean you know native speakers themselves (,) there's a lot of
 140 difference in the way native speakers SPEAK (,) for example (,) i mean i don't know
 141 where you live but it's quite possible that you go round and about where you live and
 142 you can hear grammar mistakes in what <1> people say </1> oh (,) er:m (,) er we went
 143 out innit or: you know we was watching tv or (,) what do you think about that?
 144 N: <1> hmm hm </1> i mean er:m:
 145 L: disappointed yeah when i listen
 146 N: yeah disappointing (,)
 147 V: yeah?
 148 N: <2> i think </2>
 149 L: <2> because </2> i'm spending my time (,) i'm learning <3> language </3>
 150 N: <3> i think that's: </3>
 151 L: <@> and after that </@> they speak this er incorrect english and so for what

152 reason i am studying?
 153 V: hm
 154 N: i think that's a part o:f (,) erm what's the word? or- how can i say they- not
 155 slang not (,) yes slang maybe because they know (,) i HOPE they know which one is
 156 correct- grammatically correct and then they change the way of their speaking (,) so it's
 157 become more and more slang (,) BUT you know for non native speaker we don't know
 158 which one is correctly- er which one is correct originally
 159 V: yeah yeah yeah
 160 N: and then we make mistake (,) oh they say innit so we can say innit <4> with
 161 EVERY question tag </4>
 162 V: <4> after everything </4> yeah
 163 N: yes i am- er you are- you went to cinema innit @@ or something like that but
 164 that that's different
 165 V: hm
 166 N: you native speaker so you understand (,) this case yes we can use innit but this
 167 case no no no no it's it's it's o - it's (over) rule or something like that
 168 V: yeah (,) it's amazing actually how quickly your: well MY own english (,) even
 169 though you know obviously in the classroom (,) i try and keep everything correct but
 170 in nat - natural english and even when i'm speaking to my students (,) i make some of
 171 these (,) mistakes you know
 172 N: hm hm
 173 V: like er <5> there's a lot- </5>
 174 N: <5> but your mistake </5> is (,) yeah this mistake not mistake- criminal
 175 mistake
 176 V: right yeah aha well crim- nothing's criminal
 177 N: nothing's criminal <6> <@> i know i know </@> </6> but it it it's just an
 178 expression
 179 V: <6> @@@@ </6> yeah yeah
 180 N: but do you know what i mean? (,) er:
 181 V: yeah
 182 N: the differences i want to say
 183 V: yeah no no definitely (,) i think that if erm (,) if i had erm if i had children
 184 myself i wouldn't mind them making (,) grammatical errors but as long as (,) as long as
 185 they knew (,) it's like giving you the choice as well (,) as long as you know what's ok
 186 N: and er: (,) and er i think there are several kind of- several different kind of
 187 mistake if i if we call that mistake
 188 V: hmm
 189 N: i think there are (,) different kind of different kind of? yeah different kind of
 190 mistakes (,) one is you know like innit or something like that so the the way of
 191 speaking (,) and the other one is (,) erm what's the word? erm it's not acceptable er it's
 192 not acceptable mistake
 193 V: right
 194 N: this is acceptable but you can't you can't say this way in this <7> situation- in
 195 this sentence </7> because for us (,) for japanese article is very difficult <8> and (,) </8>
 196 it's it's not long word you know t-h -e or <9> a or an </9> it's just one or two
 197 alphabet but it's ver- diff - it's very important
 198 V: <7> hm hm hm </7> <8> hm </8> <9> yeah ok </9> yeah yeah so i mean
 199 both of you have said really that you you would benefit
 200 N: hm
 201 -V: in terms of your own learning if if international english was acceptable so: if
 202 you: say in twenty or thirty years time when it becomes acceptable and they produce
 203 this grammar book that is international english (,) would you buy one?

- 204 N: as a international english book probably i would buy (,) just just for my
 205 curiosity?
 206 V: just out of yeah
 207 N: but i wouldn't buy as an english book
 208 V: lucy what do you think?
 209 L: well i hope by that time i will <@> be able to <@> speak perfect english
 210 V: @@@
 211 L: and i want- i i er i will not need (,) any grammar book but er maybe for my
 212 children er: even for my children i would like them to er to speak grammatically
 213 correct
 214 N: hm
 215 L: i mean maybe shakespeare language er er let's say nowadays
 216 V: but if the idea of grammatically correct has changed then what do you do?
 217 L: if everybody er: will (,) speak (,) er simple english i mean er er english which
 218 er changed- has changed
 219 V: yeah (,) yeah yeah
 220 -L: erm then ok
 221 V: yeah (,) but otherwise:?
 222 L: otherwise no
 223 V: ok
 224 L: i i like (,) even now i like er i prefer er queen's language than er (xxx) language
 225 V: right
 226 L: <1> i don't... </1>
 227 N: <1> queen's english? what? </1>
 228 L: queen's language
 229 V: yeah sort of <2> queen's english rather than sort of street language </2>
 230 N: <2> ah yeah i (,) no no no </2> oh right ok
 231 L,V: hm hm
 232 L: so it's er it's er very much depends on your character (,) on your attitude (,) on
 233 your education as well
 234 V: yeah ok (,) so it could be an expression of class really couldn't it
 235 L: yeah
 236 N: ah
 237 V: it has been
 238 N: i think erm in in thirty years' times we - you know when english has changed
 239 a lot (,) and international english become more and more popular probably non native
 240 speaker (,) native speaker should know or will need to know what's the differences
 241 between english and international english
 242 V: hm
 243 N: because we (,) not only native speaker (,) we: should know (..) h we should
 244 know erm you know we we have to choose the the way of speaking in particular
 245 situation or (,) er yes <3> situation </3> or who i'm going to talk with or where i'm
 246 going to talk for example (,) yes so
 247 V: <3> hmm hm </3> so you mean the context of who you are talking to is
 248 important and <4> it's important that </4> you can choose-
 249 N: <4> hm hm </4> yeah
 250 -V: the correct- i mean you know an appropriate way to respond
 251 N: yes yes yes
 252 V: hm (,) ok
 253 N: but to do that or to able to do that
 254 V: yeah
 255 N: - to be able to do that we KNOW we should know the differences <5>

256 between: </5> english and international english beforehand so:
 257 V: <5> yeah yeah </5> yeah
 258 N: so that's why (,) i said (that) english is english @@
 259 V: ok (,) good (..) have you got any further thoughts lucy?
 260 L: sorry
 261 V: have you got any f- other thoughts?
 262 L: (..) well (..) i think er if i (,) couldn't speak english now and i had to start
 263 learning it (,)
 264 V: hm
 265 -L: i would love to have this grammar book which er (x) people speak more erm
 266 (,) er easy- in easy way?
 267 V: yeah more e- yeah more
 268 L: easy grammar aN:d
 269 V: yeah easy for you
 270 L: yeah easy for me but now as i (,) i did so many erm efforts- i've done so many
 271 efforts so <@> for me: </@>
 272 sx: yeah it would
 273 -L: that- it wouldn't so exciting
 274 V: no (xxx)
 275 -N: it wouldn't be so exciting and so useful (,) but as for people who only er:m
 276 (they're) starting learning english it's er important i think
 277 V: ok (...) alright erm (,) how (,) how do you feel then about this idea of
 278 ownership of english (,) that it belongs to everybody?
 279 N: h (..) to everybody means?
 280 V: that it belongs to everybody (,) so that anybody who <6> speaks english </6>
 281 it belongs to them
 282 N: <6> speaks english </6>
 283 L: as i already said it's erm (,) initially it belongs to your culture to: british people
 284 and american and (xx) people and (,) the (,) british english wa- were- was born here
 285 and american was born in america and now as well (,) it's spreading but as you see it's
 286 spreading and it's er losing its native er: roots
 287 V: hm
 288 L: and it's getting er simpler and simpler and probably you know in - as naoko
 289 said it's erm - in idiom you can erm read - you can understand er:m mentality (,) you
 290 can understand culture - culture things
 291 V: that's right
 292 L: you know (,) and when you lose these er (,) things
 293 N: hmm
 294 -L: er: you will lose the (,) kind of culture
 295 V: yeah (,) i absolutely- i mean i totally agree with you (,) in some ways i think i
 296 feel quite protective about english you know
 297 N: hmm
 298 V: and erm (,) we we were talking about errors earlier
 299 N: hm hm
 300 V: and i pick up on errors really really quickly when when (,) when FRIENDS of
 301 mine (,) so not teachers (,) make errors in <7> in english </7> i sort of startle (,) i mean
 302 i don't correct them or anything and i sort of feel that erm what (,) what international
 303 english might lose is a kind of richness in the language i mean it would be (,) it would
 304 be a shame i think to stop teaching people idioms <8> because it's the colour in the
 305 language and i like that </8>
 306 N: <7> hm hm </7> <8> @@@ (,) hm hm </8> i think at least we respect- we
 307 have- we should respect the rule i mean

308 V: yeah
 309 N: so
 310 V: yeah
 311 N: even even though- even if we start learning international english as language
 312 but we- yeah we respect the- we should respect
 313 V: i mean i can understand how erm it it is difficult for foreign learners to learn (,)
 314 idioms and because they've got to be so tight (,) they've got to be so perfect
 315 N: it's very (,) @@@
 316 V: but it's the thing that when you go abroad- well when i go abroad and i speak
 317 a foreign language it's what i find frustrating because i can't get any colour in my
 318 language (,) so i feel like i can't express myself
 319 N: hmm
 320 V: you know
 321 L: i think we (,) should er:m agree that you in britain you need to keep your own
 322 roots and your culture er: (,) lan- language like it is
 323 V: hmm
 324 L: like it is?
 325 V: yeah?
 326 L: but er: as for international language of course it will be easier and you can't do
 327 anything
 328 V: hmm
 329 L: you CAN keep your: erm colorful language here
 330 V: yeah hm hm
 331 L: you can speak- you can- you between native speakers
 332 V: yeah
 333 L: you MUST do it you you you shouldn't' forget er er these idioms (,) it's great
 334 V: yeah
 335 L: and er yesterday you said about cup of tea <9> i love it- i love this expression
 336 and i think it's great </9> and if you said that er er:m younger generation would not
 337 use it and it's a <1> shame </1> and er BUT i think er:m (..) iN: (..) international use (,)
 338 using internationally in business and it it it's it's- there is no need to to er know these
 339 idioms
 340 V: <1> yeah (,) yeah (,) yeah </9> <1> yeah </1> yeah
 341 L: so there are different er targets
 342 V: yeah
 343 -L: and (,) for people who wants to know culture and who wants to know er know
 344 deep- er deeply british nation and er or american for example (,) they need to know
 345 these things
 346 V: yeah (,) yeah (,) well i mean it you see it's interesting because you are aren't
 347 you (,) you're learning english because you <2> live here </2> and i think <3> you
 348 might have a different perspective </3> if if you were only learning it for work (,) for
 349 example i mean i i've taught people abroad (,) who ONLY had to learn it for work and
 350 they kind of resent-
 351 N: <2> hm hm </2> hm
 352 L: <3> xxx </3> yeah i wouldn't like to study idioms at all
 353 V: yeah
 354 L: if i if i needed er my er: the er english for only for job (,) for communicating w-
 355 w- within er er com- within working
 356 V: yes (,) yeah
 357 N: you mean: @@
 358 L: so only simple- simple english in order to understand each other
 359 N: hmm

360 V: yeah
 361 N: as for (,) you know as for idioms the most difficult thing for me is to use <4>
 362 idioms </4>
 363 V: <4> yeah (,) yeah </4>
 364 N: idioms in (,) you know
 365 V: in a natural way
 366 N: a natural way
 367 V: hm
 368 N: but at the moment i try to understand idioms (,) what does this idioms - what
 369 does it mean - what it means (,) because understanding idioms and USING idioms
 370 naturally a bit different- slightly different
 371 L: yeah
 372 N: so: not only idioms also a lots of word (,) i've got (,) probably i've got range er
 373 wide range of vocabulary which i understand use- you- when i hear er you using that
 374 word or the other people using yes i understand but still i CANT - i don't manage or i
 375 can't USE (,) that word
 376 V: yes
 377 -N: as my word (,) do you know what i mean? <5> in my sentence </5>
 378 V: <5> yeah yeah yeah <5> definitely
 379 N: for me probably (,) the point (,) i got confidence with using these words or
 380 these idioms (,) i probably i will stop learning <@> english </@> i i will think yes my
 381 english is perfect
 382 V: right
 383 N: it's become per- it is er become perfect now but NO still no <6> of course </6>
 384 no (,) because people say oh you can understand what i am saying and er you can
 385 explain yourself you know er (...) er (,) even if if it <7> it's not perfect </7> but i'm
 386 not (,) i'm not satisfied with it
 387 V: <6> yeah </6> <7> yeah </7> yeah no i can under- i mean i think that i was
 388 making the same point when i traveled abroad and (,) i felt <8> that i couldn't </8>
 389 express my (,) personality
 390 N: <8> (xxx) </8> yeah a lots of time my english irritates me a lot
 391 V: <@> yeah <@>
 392 N: hmm
 393 L: i tell you what (,) you know in your own language e- even in your own
 394 language you have a particular amount (,) amount of words which you use ok (,) in
 395 your language there are lot of words but in your- on your- the tip of your tongue
 396 there are: particular words that you use everyday in everyday speech and you would
 397 not use other words
 398 N: hm hm
 399 L: and (,) the same is here so (,) even you know and you recognize the word
 400 when (,) people speak but it's not on the tip of your tongue
 401 V: hm
 402 L: maybe it come soon but maybe it it never will
 403 V, N: hm
 404 L: so you can understand but you will never use this word (,) it's not it's not
 405 common for you it's it's- you are not used to use it so (,) <9> there's no need to worry
 406 </9> you just
 407 V: <9> i mea:n actually </9> i notice the same thing when i make new friends or
 408 when i get new colleagues or you know whatever (,) and you start associating with
 409 different people you start adopting (,) what they say
 410 L: hmm
 411 V: and at at first you know you might think ooh that sounds a bit strange or i

373 never use that but gradually it filters into your own language (..) so it is- that really
374 really is true

Date:	4/11/04	Dao Shu	L1 Mandarin
Location:	King's College London	Nuo	L1 Mandarin
		Tessa	L1 Ukrainian
		Mei	L1 Mandarin
		Jing	L1 Mandarin
		Ziad	Bilingual Punjabi, Urdu
		Sabeen	Bilingual Arabic, English

1 D: what are you going to do next week (.) end?
2 N: next week holiday
3 T: next week?
4 D: no not holiday reading week
5 T: oh
6 N: camp in the library @@
7 SS: @@@@
8 N: <@> i'm kidding </@> @@ no way @@ yeah
9 T: next week (..)
10 D: so you are not going (.) somewhere?
11 T: er unfortunately i am in travel industry and (.)
12 D: oh
13 T: world travel market exhibition is on next week so i have to work every day
14 J: ah mm (.) going to work
15 T: so i won't be able to to come (.) i know it's going to be very very very busy
16 M: hm aha
17 J: oh that's (.)
18 T: and i won't be having time to read either @
19 J: yeah
20 T: so the next week after next
21 J: @@ (xxx) don't know (.) i haven't got any book to read @
22 T: no books?
23 N: yeah (.) there's no books in the library
24 T: no books?
25 N: yes because er (.) every book is on loan (.) i think
26 M: yeah
27 T: what is a good idea i think is to: get to any other library (.) you know like any:
28 J: ah
29 -T: library in any boroughs <1> er like </1> hackney or westminster or anywhere
30 J: <1> ah but </1> yeah they say there is one in russell square (.) it's really good
31 at like linguistic and er teaching
32 D: yeah but we - they can't borrow
33 M: they said that (.)
34 N: we can't borrow it from (.)?
35 J: <2> you can </2>
36 T: <2> yeah yes you can </2> take it for two weeks (.) one one month
37 J: they said - (x) said if you got the student card - the king's student
38 they can lend you (.)
39 M: ah ah
40 D: ah i went to (.)
41 N: (xxx) university of london?
42 J: no no institute of ed - eduCAtion:
43 T: education

44 N: ah 'i of e'
 45 D: <3> no i i </3> (.) i went there but i can only read (..)
 46 T: <3> it's it's got </3> inside
 47 D: read in the library
 48 J: ah you cannot- you can't borrow
 49 M: <4> aha </4> mhm
 50 T: <4> yes </4>
 51 D: yeah i i have (.) hm
 52 T: but
 53 -D: applied for the reference card ah
 54 M: mhm
 55 D: the students in the university of london
 56 M: mhm
 57 D: can have the reference card and we can't borrow any books
 58 SS: hmm
 59 T: but there is no point to go to a place where those boo:ks you know are you
 60 know are required by other students
 61 D: mhm
 62 T: it's good to go to public libraries (.) they do have some linguistic <5> erm
 63 </5> dictionaries and books
 64 N: <5> ah </5> but usually do do they have this kind of book in the public
 65 library? (xx)
 66 J: hmm
 67 T: ah well sometimes you can you know like if you need like dictionary of
 68 applied linguistics or (.)
 69 N: ah
 70 T: or just theory or practice of applied linguistic nobody want those books
 71 SS: @@@ <6> @@ </6>
 72 T: <6> nobody </6> they have- nobody wants them so you can you can take it
 73 you can borrow it and keep it at home for the whole year
 74 SS: ah yeah
 75 T: <7> if you want (.) </7>
 76 M: <7> the whole year </7> and (.) and you don't need to return
 77 sS: @@@
 78 T: so it just (.)
 79 M: no i'm kidding
 80 T: and the book will grow like that
 81 M: ah yeah @@@
 82 SS: @@@
 83 M: go like this
 84 T: they will go
 85 N: @@ yeah
 86 T: so try those libraries
 87 N: aha mm
 88 J: ah i thought public libraries just have some (.) like common things
 89 <the door opens and ziad joins the group>
 90 T: they do but: they do as well have some (.) you know linguistic or erm
 91 literature and physics or: astronomy and thing
 92 M: mhm
 93 J: mm so <8> we are talking about the books </8> (.) how we can get the
 94 books we want to read
 95 D: <8> yeah and there was (.) public libraries </8>

- 96 T: they want - they are dying to read books they can't find any books to read
 97 Z: what in the library?
 98 J: mmm
 99 M: yeah (xxx)
 100 Z: i think you can find (.) what books you can't find (.)?
 101 J: they said some books are already:
 102 SX: mm
 103 M: mine is ok (.) my topic is writing so: i have a lot of books to read
 104 J: @@@
 105 M: it's er i don't know (..) nuo maybe she doesn't have (.) many:
 106 N: learning strategies (.) learning strategy: i'm looking for the books on that topic
 107 J: ah lots of people they are going to write that topic
 108 M: yeah yeah that's why every book is checked out
 109 N: yeah
 110 T: you know the other option (.) those big book stores (.) they always have a
 111 review (..) when you go inside see in the review you can read the (holder) and then
 112 you can just leave the book
 113 J: @@@
 114 M: ah yeah <9> you don't need to buy </9> the book
 115 T: <9> yeah it's true </9>
 116 Z: yeah you can
 117 T: you don't have to
 118 M: there's no point if you just wa- use <1> one chapter </1> or j- <2> one
 119 paragraph </2> there is no point buying that
 120 T: <1> hmm </1>
 121 Z: <2> yeah </2>
 122 T: or (.)
 123 D: but can we take (.) notes (.) there?
 124 T: you can yeah you can-
 125 M: yeah you just write <3> on you own note book </3>
 126 D: <3> in taiwan </3> (.)
 127 N: don't write it <4> on the book </4>
 128 Z: <4> or you can buy (.) </4>
 129 D: you can't bring the notebook
 130 J: why?
 131 D: to the bookstore
 132 J: oh yeah?
 133 D: because i did it once and the: the shopkeeper was very ANgry
 134 J: it was like a private bookshop? hm
 135 D: yeah
 136 M: yeah yeah i think it's- i think the bookshops here they are fine
 137 T: no here over here they are very much relaxed (.) you can <5> have coffee (.)
 138 and read a book </5> and you can (.)
 139 Z: <5> oh yeah yeah </5>
 140 J: i saw lots of people they just stay there just (.)
 141 D: oh yeah
 142 Z: i mean you can buy only those books which you think they're really useful
 143 J: hmm
 144 Z: and because you are already into this profession so they are going to be
 145 helpful for you in future as well (.) for your profession
 146 J: hmm
 147 M: yeah

148 Z: so (.) but the books which you think are - i mean (.) they are good but only a
 149 few chapterS: er are really really important for you (.) so you can just read them there
 150 and (,) take the notes
 151 J: hm
 152 M: hm
 153 Z: and you don't have to buy the book
 154 T: it's sort of like in all those possibilities just try like (.) no books (.) so what do
 155 you do no books? so looking up libraries
 156 J: hmm
 157 T: go to big book stores and read (.)
 158 J: hm
 159 T: or: you know (,) buy a book which is really good <6> and useful </6> for the
 160 rest of your life
 161 J: <6> hmm </6>
 162 Z: mhm
 163 T: they are quite expensive (,) all books are very expensive
 164 J: <7> hmm </7> yeah sixteen
 165 D: <7> yeah </7>
 166 N: <@> yeah </@>
 167 T: sixteen they are like sixteen pounds
 168 J: or say twenty
 169 D: yeah six- sixteen (,) twenty
 170 T: that's a lot
 171 Z: are we just having conversation about er (.) the academics? or the books or
 172 something like that?
 173 D: no you can- ANYthing
 174 T: well well you can talk about (,) i don't know
 175 D: i was asking about the wha - what w - they were going to do during their
 176 holiday (,) no i mean reading week
 177 SS: @@@@
 178 Z: yeah that's what i was (.) going to ask
 179 N: it's not holiday
 180 J: @@@
 181 M: the holiday
 182 D: don't mention the holiday
 183 Z: what do you guys do apart from studies? what kind of things are you into?
 184 J: hmm i've got a part-time job in the coffee shop so i normally i work weekend
 185 and monday
 186 N: ah
 187 J: yeah (,) <8> starbucks coffee </8>
 188 M: <8> starbucks coffee </8>
 189 T: starbucks
 190 N: ahh
 191 T: starbucks (xxxx)
 192 N: ah if we go to <9> we can go to </9>
 193 J: <9> yeah you can go to </9> you can go to visit me
 194 M: yeah go to visit (,) <1> can we get (,) discount? </1>
 195 D: <1> can we get some kind of discount? </1>
 196 J: no no i just i just give you free coffee don't worry about it
 197 M: ah right
 198 N: oh free:
 199 T: (xxxxx)

200 M: brilliant
 201 Z: @@@
 202 D: so where (,)
 203 M: where is that?
 204 J: it it's in victoria street
 205 N: ah <2> victoria st- </2>
 206 D: <2> victoria xx </2>
 207 J: DO you know westminster cathedral? (..)
 208 D: ca- westmin-?
 209 N: westminster?
 210 J: it's quite famous (.) westminster cathedral
 211 D: no
 212 SS: @@@
 213 Z: (xxxx)
 214 T: westminster abbey?
 215 Z: westminster tube station?
 216 T: westminster abbey? or westminster cathedral?
 217 J: no westminster abbey is at the end of er victor s - victoria street (,) mine is in
 218 the middle
 219 M: so:
 220 N: aha
 221 J: it's VERY famous lots of people (,) they take picture in front of it the the
 222 D: really?
 223 J: you don't know that?
 224 T: ok we'll find (,) so we'll find the cathedral
 225 Z: ok
 226 J: yeah i'm in the middle of victoria street just very erm
 227 D: so WHEN (,) will you be there?
 228 J: normally i work at the weekend
 229 M: <3> only weekend? </3>
 230 D: <3> it's very important </3>
 231 M: only weekend?
 232 N: only the weekend (,) but (xxx)
 233 J: weekend
 234 SS: (xxx)
 235 J: that is i work on sunday evening and monday morning because i will do the
 236 paper work for the whole week
 237 N: ah
 238 J: sunday evening monday morning if you go there i'll always be there
 239 D: ah ok sunday evening we can (,)
 240 Z: what do you do apart from that? what i wanted to ask was <4> i mean
 241 apart from your job </4> and studies
 242 J: <4> ah personal </4>
 243 Z: what do you do when you are at home? <5> how do you chill out? </5> how
 244 do you:
 245 J: <5> i LIKE reading books </5> reading mystery books @@ miss marple
 246 M: @@@@
 247 T: oh no books no (,) no books @@
 248 J: ah no (,) i just like erm sherlock holmes (,) i don't mind (xxx)
 249 T: ah right
 250 J: i love them (,)
 251 Z: i love a read (,) i like reading (,) books as well when i'm at home

252 J: what? what kind of?
 253 Z: fiction literature
 254 J: ah
 255 Z: yeah but er it's not all the time that i will read books when i'm home
 256 J: hmm me too <6> i i like reading </6>
 257 Z: <6> i mean yeah </6> sometimes i mean you get tired (,) i can't sit for hours
 258 and read (,) i mean just (xxx)
 259 J: i just lie on the bed and read @@
 260 N: @@@
 261 D: yeah i read a lot
 262 Z: yeah
 263 D: about education (,) or psychology something like that
 264 M: wow mm
 265 <at this point sabeen enters the room and joins the conversation>
 266 J: mhm
 267 T: i like the gadgets magazine
 268 Z: yeah hm
 269 T: i like the gadgets
 270 Z: well i like to go to gym (,) i mean when i'm free
 271 J: are you (xxx)?
 272 Z: yeah i do weight training and er (..) i go swimming (,) something like that
 273 J: hm
 274 Z: because i get tired with the books and stuff sometimes
 275 J: hmm
 276 T: he's a er ex-personal trainer
 277 SS: @@@@
 278 Z: because i used to OWN a gym back home so (,)
 279 J: oh really?
 280 Z: i was a trainer and i have been training there for s- good six (,) seven years
 281 J: so you're professional
 282 Z: it's not a professional thing but i know i mean (,)
 283 J: (xx)
 284 Z: yeah
 285 J: oh
 286 T: but you smoke
 287 SS: @@@@
 288 S: that's exactly what i've been telling him (,) walking contradiction right there
 289 N: @@@@
 290 J: @@
 291 Z: i never USED to but i've only started it for last couple of years <7> it's just (,)
 292 </7>
 293 J: <7> do you smoke a lot </7> or just one or two (,)?
 294 Z: i smoke ten or fifteen a day
 295 M: oh no
 296 J: aah
 297 T: (xxx)
 298 Z: that's quite a lot (,) yeah
 299 S: @@ i just smoke ten or fifteen a day
 300 SS: @@@
 301 Z: it's not a lot
 302 D: @@@ just
 303 N: @@

304 T: but gym is a good thing (.) do they have any gym facilities over here?
 305 Z: <clears throat>
 306 S: ah the ONE (,) the k.c.l. one it should be opening <8> november fifteenth </8>
 307 but (,) i'm sticking to my local ones (,)
 308 J: <8> i think there's </8> student union they have their own gym
 309 S: yeah that's what i'm saying
 310 J: ah yeah ah
 311 S: it's gonna open november fifteenth because they are supposed to be
 312 rennovating it or something like that
 313 N: do you have to pay for that?
 314 S: yeah
 315 N: to the facilities
 316 S: yeah
 317 T: you have to pay
 318 M: <9> but not so expensive as outside </9>
 319 S: <9> i think (,) i heard it's ninety nine pounds a year </9>
 320 T: ninety nine a year? that's cheap
 321 S: hmm (,) is it cheap?
 322 D: ninety nine
 323 T: it's cheap because my one my membership is like fifty pounds a month
 324 Z: ninety nine a year is (,) is (,)
 325 T: very cheap
 326 Z: a hell of a lot
 327 J: hm hm
 328 S: i don't know because i haven't been to a gym (,) the only gym i ever went to
 329 was the one in (,) the college i was last working at and then there's classes near my
 330 house two seventy (,) two pounds seventy a class
 331 T: hm
 332 J: hm hm
 333 Z: yeah i mean if you're a student you can get discount anywhere
 334 J: hmm
 335 Z: i mean you know the leisure centres?
 336 T: yeah <1> that's the council </1> that's er they are not you know (,) they are ok
 337 but
 338 Z: <1> and the different councils yeah </1> (,) they are very good (,) i mean in
 339 my area it's a redbridge council and the leisure centre over there is quite nice
 340 T: hm
 341 Z: they've got (,) pretty good facilities
 342 S: but they are renovating this one (,) so it should be better
 343 Z: ok
 344 S: i think (,) should be
 345 SS: <2>@@@ @@</2>
 346 T: <2>so next time maybe</2> maybe we could be having an outing (or going
 347 to) the gym (xxx)
 348 SS: @@@
 349 S: actually i'm hoping to join yoga, coz the
 350 T: (xxx)
 351 S: i think one of the lazier forms of keeping fit
 352 N: @@@
 353 J: i think that's a very dangerous (hobby) because
 354 T: it is it's
 355 D: (the legs there)

356 S: no you don't have to do that (.) it's just (.) erm exercises of breathing:
 357 Z: yeah
 358 S: and stretching (.) it doesn't necessary you have to have your head- legs around
 359 you
 360 N: @@@
 361 S: but it's just like meditating and you know learning to <3>become (xxx) </3>
 362 Z: <3>concentrating</3>
 363 SS: hm
 364 S: yeah (.) actually my- i i remember i think it was one of one of my friends she
 365 went to a conference something like that and this woman did a presentation on how
 366 (salar)
 367 SS: hmm
 368 S: you know arabic prayer is a form of yoga and meditation
 369 Z: yeah
 370 S: because of the way that you stand and when you (.) you know er:
 371 M: hm hm
 372 S: sit down or you know bow or something like that it's it's for meditation so
 373 D: mm mm
 374 S: it's very interesting she said
 375 Z: hm it's not something that's related to your body it is related to your soul and
 376 your thoughts
 377 SS: hm hm
 378 Z: because when you are concentrating you're just not doing anything physically
 379 you're you're doing particular moments and at the same time you are concentrating
 380 and you are meditating
 381 J: hmm
 382 Z: you just-
 383 J: yeah we have got programme like yoga (.) it's er she always just- next to the
 384 sea and then well when she touches relax and so you feel a bit of er
 385 SS: @@@
 386 N: @@@
 387 S: tai tai chi is that?
 388 M: tai chi
 389 J: no it's not it's yoga it's yeah tai chi is similar with that just in to becoM:
 390 M: mm
 391 D: mm peaceful:
 392 J: i remember yeah my my teacher he said when you know the advanced level of
 393 tai chi and when you- for example if even you wear very er little clothes in the winter
 394 and you won't feel cold because you will control the something in your body
 395 S: yeah the muscles
 396 J: that is-
 397 S: control movement
 398 T: that's good
 399 N: <4> yeah @@ </4>
 400 J: <4> i don't know </4>
 401 SX: yeah that's brilliant
 402 S: it's er (.) it's a form of: self defence isn't it (.) the monks used to do it i heard
 403 Z: yeah:
 404 D: <5>ah soM: of them</5>
 405 S: <5>is it self defence or?</5>
 406 J: <6>yeah they just use the-<6/>
 407 D: <6>maybe shao lin or (xx)<6/>

408 Z: do you do er tae kwon do? do you have any idea of tae kwon do in china? .
 409 J: i don't know
 410 M: tae kwon do is er korean right?
 411 S: yeah it's korean
 412 D: yeah
 413 J: ah
 414 Z: is it korean is it?
 415 SX: ah is it? ah similar
 416 Z: because i used to do that do that as well
 417 S: mm mm
 418 T: have the (xxx)
 419 SS: @@@
 420 N: oh ah @@@ @@@
 421 Z: yeah yeah
 422 SS: @@ @
 423 Z: it was a korean guy who was instructor over there
 424 D: hm hm
 425 S: well which one is the one with the swords? or the-
 426 T: martial?
 427 Z: that's ninja (.) ninja
 428 S: no not ninja (.) there's one (.) i think it's kendo?
 429 Z: is it?
 430 S: kendo?
 431 N: kendo yeah
 432 M: that's japanese one
 433 S: yeah that one looks nice
 434 M: hm hm
 435 D: with a what?
 436 N: @@@
 437 M: japanese
 438 <SX demonstrates a sword-like motion>
 439 D: ah that one
 440 SS: @@@
 441 SX: yeah yeah (we've heard of that one)
 442 SS: @@
 443 S: hm that one looks good (..) and kick boxing
 444 SS: @@@

Date:	16/6/05	Mei	L1 Mandarin
Location:	King's College London	Dao Shu	L1 Mandarin
		Tim	L1 English
		Marshal	L1 English

1 M: hm today i'm going to d- talk about my dissertation and my topic is something
2 about er EIL in taiwanese context and er (,) you can look at m:y title erm (,) right now
3 actually i've got the data already the basic data about EIL and er (,) i c:arry out an
4 investigation to a group of taiwanese english in service teacher (,) and er they are also
5 doing their MA in linguistics and ELT as well (,) and er hh i want to know their erm (,)
6 w- er let me say something about @@ why i want to study at this because erm we L2
7 speakers and users we usually speak english with our OWN characteristics and er hh
8 sometimes when i was in class it's really hard for me to decide whether: if i do r- need
9 to correct some errors and (,) will this really cause communication problem? and
10 according to kachru's three er circles model of world english and er erm the the
11 biggest number of english users chinese and er erm the fact in taiwan is that english is
12 in the national- english this subject is in the national curriculum and it's likely taught
13 learned and used every day and er erm according to widdowson he's mentioned that
14 er (,) basically the se- expanding circle where the taiwan belong to is er- the role of
15 english there is should be a mean of international communication (,) so er basically this
16 is WHY i want to study this and er: erm i- the investigation that i carry out is that i
17 want to know that my- the teachers the english teacher local english teacher in taiwan
18 and what do they think about (,) ENglish and what do they think about british ameri-
19 american english is still they think they are er standard english or to what extent they
20 (,) know about they understand about EIL inter- english as an international language
21 (,) and er in terms of language use do they think do they accept there are a lot of er
22 english varieties in the world such as er we we usually listen and contact with japanese
23 or koreans or what or indian and er in that area do they really know do they really
24 accept these (,) VArieties and also i want to know that their attitudes towards their
25 own or maybe students er erm chinese characteristics when using english i i focus on
26 lexicogramm- er lexicogrammatical features bec- because that's- er it's really hard for
27 me to get er pronunciation data (,) and erm and er i want to er based on the data i
28 collect i want to know what kind of erm er what kinds of er criteria they use to judge
29 this er the the students or their own (,) use of l- english is internationally acceptable or
30 not and erm (,) also i want to know if there ANY possibility that EIL can be adapt-
31 adapted and adopted in taiwan (,) and er the method that i use is that just as i
32 mentioned before that i i actually got some data with me already at this stage and er i
33 get er a group of er taiwanese english teacher and er i investigate their attitude toward
34 EIL: and i got twenty four respondents (,) so far and erm (,) and er the (subjects) is
35 that the teachers they they are teaching not in not in only in middle school they al-
36 they are also teaching in (,) elementary school because er (,) in 2005 (,) no- this this year
37 er in taiwan the taiwanese government just want to: (,) promote english education so
38 the the whole country we HAVE to teach english since (,) grade three elementary
39 school year three so: erm we got s- some elementary school here- er teachers here as
40 well and er AFter this i might i (,) i right now got two ideas in my mind <?> that is
41 </?> one is i give them erm i just give er a more in depth questionnaire to ask why
42 they they think the these kind of expressions they they think is internationally
43 acceptable OR why what the the criteria they judge that this is appropriate in
44 international setting and er: another idea is that i just interview them but i prefer
45 interview them because i i might need more and i can record and i can KNOW if they
46 really say (,) what they want to say or: some people they don't tell truth just filling out

47 the questionnaire so i might t- ask more detailed things and er collect the data and
 48 summarize it and er (...) <looks through notes> there's (x) here is the data i've co-
 49 collected so far and er (.) but it's out of my expectation <?> is that </?> i erm (.)
 50 jennifer is my tutor and er we ASSUMED that @@ erm taiwanese teachers they don't
 51 really have some very basic idea of EIL but very interesting is that most of them have
 52 this kind of idea and er i asked the teachers at that institute and er he replied me that
 53 they don't have that kind of course so: i asked them- i asked him WHY the teachers
 54 there they have er EIL idea and that he said that we got a lot of er national and
 55 international conference in taipei and gaushou so they can access to this kind of
 56 information (.) so er:m (..) that's why i (xx) me to <@> change my title </@> and the
 57 topic and er change all the time and here er THEY are really nice they gave me some
 58 extra comments and erm and er some some are very interesting is that er <reading>
 59 since this is an international language (...) </reading> erm can you read that? and er
 60 the er it's the first one <reading> effective communication is more important than
 61 grammatical mistakes </reading> that's what a teacher said (.) he he added (xx) he
 62 added the extra comment and er this is a senior high school teacher (.) and er: (..) also
 63 erm another one is the last one the respondent (.) twenty four she mentioned that er
 64 EIL created an ISsue very interesting (.) different englishes we use (.) so basically they
 65 have some really basic idea about EIL and a very good (.) conception so er i am that's
 66 really surprising me but i'm very happy with that and er: (.) here is the dat- the
 67 questionnaire i had (.) question one to five is about er ah EIL and er english and er
 68 question six to ten is about seidlhofer (.) she mentioned that some grammatical and
 69 lexical er errors we don't really need to CORRECT and i want i want to ask the
 70 teachers why they correct that or what's their attitude towards that and er i find out
 71 some interesting things is that (.) here is a list (x) results (.) i just have some very raw s-
 72 statistic (.) ye- here <selects transparency to show on projector> (..) it's very surprising
 73 that @@ not <loud> the first one is not surprising </loud> they still think british and
 74 american english are standard english (.) but one of them just make com- extra
 75 comments said that er because that's their language so sometimes it's just like a
 76 resource we refer to (.) it's nothing (.) we don't need to sound or speak like them so i @
 77 that's her comment and er the second one is that er (.) erm pretty much a a lot of
 78 teachers they (.) think it's acceptable there are a lot of er english varieties very
 79 acceptable and er most of them agree that it's natural that we speak english with
 80 chinese characteristics (.) and er that's the thing and er question six to five (.) the result
 81 is (..) yeah basically they AGREE they don't REALLY need to: (.) pay much attention to
 82 this (.) to this erm so called un- un- incorrect sentences (.) according to standard
 83 english (.) BUT one interesting thing i (.) i find out is that er (..) this one (...) <quiet> i'm
 84 sorry (xx) </quiet> er sentence seven (.) they (.) confusing that who and which they
 85 think we need to correct (.) this is the only sentence that more than fifty percent
 86 teachers (.) but i don't really know why (.) i guess (.) i guess i predicted that because in-
 87 according to my understanding of chinese grammar we don't have who or which so
 88 maybe they think this is very important (.) IN communication so i- that's why i want to
 89 interview them (.) know the why they think so and erm (.) there is also another one is
 90 the tag questions (.) it's about forty percent but not more than half (.) mmm (.) my (.) i
 91 just guess maybe it's it's also because we don't use tag question a lot in chinese (.) so:
 92 maybe that's for a reason and er here are the (xx) findings er some er mentioned
 93 already (.) yeah (.) so erm (..) i just want to (.) have an interview maybe in the middle
 94 of july and ask more details about EIL and er why they think so and erm (.) here is (x)
 95 the question i might ask them but er i (.) i still work on that (.) this is only draft so
 96 maybe you can give me some comments about it and er <shows additional
 97 transparency> this is the bibliography that i might refer to <loud> i really want to
 98 know s- </loud> why they think who and which it's- these pronouns are really

- 99 important to COMMUNICATION and er also tag questions (,) basically i- when i talk
 100 to chinese and
 101 when we use english i realize that they don't really use tag question (..) so (....) so this
 102 is the presentation today so <1> any comment or any question </1> you would like to
 103 ask me?
 104 T: <1> thank you very much</1> (,) comments or or questions
 105 Ma: i think you've done a lot already i mean
 106 T: this is fantastic (,) looks fantastic doesn't it
 107 Ma: yeah
 108 T: it's very interesting
 109 Ma: yeah
 110 M: thank you (...)
 111 Ma: erm er you know you said in taiwan in grade three they teach english now
 112 M: yeah
 113 Ma: what age is grade three in taiwan?
 114 M: grade three is erm at ten
 115 Ma: at ten? they start at ten
 116 M: yeah ten (,) nine to ten
 117 Ma: right (,) hmm
 118 M: that's since they- this term (,) 2005 (..) and er last year our government tried to
 119 er (,) (xxxxx) make english become er an erm official language
 120 Ma: ah
 121 M: yeah but it's not approved yet so: (..)
 122 T: the oh? sorry (,) the taiwanese government
 123 M: yeah
 124 T: said that they are going to
 125 M: to to make english an
 126 T: =an official language
 127 M: yeah yeah
 128 T: ah i see (,) that's very interesting
 129 Ma: instead? not instead of
 130 T: as well as
 131 Ma: @ as well as
 132 M: @@
 133 T: hm how many official languages do you have? you have mandarin and:
 134 M: taiwanese
 135 D: hm taiwanese (,) no
 136 M: no mandarin yeah
 137 D: actually mandarin is only one
 138 T: because the- it- taiwan has had several (,) hh
 139 D: yeah
 140 T: you see i- you know i've read all the SLA essays now
 141 M: hm @
 142 T: the (,) the the the @@@
 143 D: @@@
 144 T: i know a lot about taiwanese language policy (,) so you had several
 145 D: yeah several languages
 146 T: different <2> official languages in the past </2>
 147 M: <2> and we have hong kongese </2> the most people speak both bilingually
 148 (,) bilingual is that is mandarin and taiwanese but we have some hong kongese that (x)
 149 T: ok
 150 M: yeah and er also some aboriginal people <3> they </3> speak nine different

- 151 languages
 152 T: <3> right (,) ok </3> (..) the- er it's very interesting (,) i i'm really interested in
 153 in in your: erm explanation for er about the the tag questions and the relative:
 154 M: ah ah
 155 T: clauses or pronouns (,) and it it's interesting that you suggest it might
 156 be because in: mandarin you don't use (..) tag questions or you don't use
 157 M: well yeah actually we do use but we use a little bit like er 'right'? we
 158 don't use
 159 T: <4> you have a universal </4>
 160 M: <4> we don't change the </4> form we always use
 161 T: you have a universal tag (,) ok
 162 M: yeah we just use one tag questions
 163 T: if
 164 M: 'is that you right'? something l-
 165 T: but if if you look at (,) if you look at the data that (..) erm <looks through
 166 presentation handout> an ELF corpus as collected together then a universal tag is a
 167 very common feature of english as an international (,) variety (,) so it's interesting that
 168 people perceive it as relatively important in terms of <turns paper> (xxx)
 169 communication and that it (..) it's really important to follow up those: (,) investigate
 170 your explanations when you interview teachers (,) because if you don't investigate that
 171 closely enough (,) ask the teachers about why they believe something is important then
 172 in your dissertation when you come to explain the findings it will all appear quite
 173 speculative (,) erm and somebody reading it would challenge you on it and say well
 174 why did you come to this conclusion? are you explaining the use of relative clauses-
 175 the the belief that relative clauses are important (,) why are you explaining it in that
 176 way? (,) so you're not basing it on speculation and intuition you've investigated this
 177 and spoken to those teachers about WHY they believe these features are important in
 178 communication
 179 M: yeah i will
 180 T: it's really important to follow up
 181 M: yeah i want to know that if this really influence that international
 182 communication and er if your students or you (,) make this kind of errors will you self
 183 correct or will you just let it (,) be
 184 T: hmm (...) i i (,) i i have- i really like the questions they're really good
 185 they're really well thought out and you've got a combination of (,) quantitative and
 186 qualitative data
 187 M: hm
 188 T: which is a real strength (,) but some of the questions i i think the word
 189 'natural' (,) question three <reading> do you agree that it is natural that taiwanese use
 190 english with certain chinese characters </reading> or characteristics sorry (,) most
 191 agree that it is natural
 192 M: hm
 193 T: erm i think it is a different question do you agree that it is ACCEPTABLE?
 194 M: hm
 195 T: i i i think that you need something in-between three and four because three
 196 says is it natural and everybody says oh yes of course it's natural (,) and then four is:
 197 does this imply using correct- incorrect english
 198 M: hm
 199 T: i think they'll all say well yes of course it implies incorrect english
 200 M: ah
 201 T: so:
 202 M: (xxxx) they dis- they think chinese speaks english with chinese characteristics

- 203 will cause international communication difficulties and er (,) also that that implies they
 204 use incorrect and poor english
- 205 T: YEAH (,) i think that there's room for something in-between
 206 M: there is conflict @
- 207 T: there is a conflict and there often is in this kind of (,) data but i think there's
 208 you you can have something in in-between (,) if in the interviews you ask- you use
 209 questions you you use the word 'acceptable' or use the word 'appropriate' r- as well as
 210 'natural' and and and 'correct'
- 211 M: hm hm hm
- 212 T: yeah? because i can imagine everybody saying yes it's natural
- 213 M: yeah
- 214 T: AND everybody saying that (,) however this implies incorrectness
- 215 M: mhm
- 216 T: but that hasn't told you whether or not they think it's acceptable or or
 217 appropriate so (,)
- 218 M: hmm
- 219 T: it does imply correctness- incorrectness (,) in a sense (,) even if you do believe
 220 in: the sociolinguistic aspects of world englishes and and and
- 221 M: mm
- 222 T: believe in variety and and so on
- 223 M: it seems that what i think and what s- in- is- what is REAL in the classroom is
 224 <5> very different </5> there is a gap there
- 225 T: <5> YES </5> yeah yeah (...) i think that's something that jenny has found a
 226 lot in her own (,) reasearch
- 227 M: hm hm
- 228 T: there's a difference between what people report and what people do
- 229 M: hmm (,) hmm sure
- 230 T: that's why the interviews are really: will be really useful (,) to follow
 231 everything up
- 232 M: so you: you think:?
- 233 T: i would i would ask them about whether they think it's natural yes (,) whether
 234 it implies incorrectness yes but also is it acceptable is it appropriate
- 235 M: hm hm
- 236 T: yeah?
- 237 M: do you think that er if i necess- it's necessary for me to im- er because er
 238 actually (,) among them there are about TWENTY (,) respondents that gave me email
 239 address and phone number (,) they want me to- they want to discuss with me and er
 240 they send me email and s- start contact me (,) they think my topic's very interesting
- 241 T: yeah: that's that
- 242 M: it's out of my (xxx)
- 243 T: that's quite telling itself about your data
- 244 M: so well
- 245 T: that that's data that you <6> can use (,) anyway </6>
- 246 M: <6> so do you think </6> that i give them more: detail questionnaire first and
 247 then interview?
- 248 T: i don't think anoth- i don't think you need (,) a more detailed questionnaire (,)
 249 i think an interview would be useful but not (x) you don't need to interview
 250 everybody
- 251 M: mhm
- 252 T: to conduct twenty interviews would be really demanding
- 253 M: mhm
- 254 T: hh (...) but it's very interesting and it looks very erm structured and organised

255 (...) ok thank you
256 M: aha thanks
257 T: we'll stop there and: next we have (xx)

Appendix E

3rd person singular

<i>Speech event T#</i>	<i>3rd person -S</i>	<i>3rd person zero</i>	<i>3rd person -S (Aux)</i>	<i>3rd person zero (Aux)</i>	<i>Notes on 3rd person -S</i>
1	0	0	0	0	-
2	1	1	1	0	lives (=recast of 3 rd person zero, 'live')
3	1	0	1	0	depends
4	1	1	1	0	makes
5	1	0	3	0	has
6	0	1	0	0	-
7	1	2	3	0	looks
8	1	0	0	0	depends
9	4	3	0	0	looks x3 strikes
10	0	6	1	0	-
11	0	0	0	0	-
12	0	0	0	0	-
13	0	0	1	0	-
14	0	0	0	0	-
15	1	0	0	0	works (after 'wo..' and hesitation)
16	0	0	1	0	-
17	1	0	0	0	feels
18	5	1	1	0	does, means, has, falls, looks
19	3	2	0	0	hasn't, depends, has
20	6	7	1	0	has x2, wants, means, becomes, looks (=recast)
21	1	0	3	0	confirms
22	8	0	5	0	needs, depends, stays, becomes x2, happens, sounds, makes
23	3	8	0	0	has x2, consists
24	5	10	4	0	depends x2, happens, means x2
25	4	13	3	0	looks, works, has, knows
26	1	3	8	0	means (used as question, 'what means?')
27	3	15	3	0	means, lives, depends
28	11	1	5	0	sounds x2, works, means x4, speaks, belongs x3
29	6	2	6	0	sounds x2, depends

Appendix E

					means (used as question, as in T26)
30	2	1	1	0	wants (=recast), touches
31	6	0	0	0	means x2, has x2, wants, depends
32	4	5	2	1	tastes, uses, has, goes
33	5	3	3	0	says, lives, takes, sleeps, depends
34	2	4	0	0	implies (repetition of L1 speakers' use), seems
35	3	1	0	0	happens, comes x2
36	2	0	0	0	focuses, means
37	6	1	1	0	says, involves, means, shows, deals with x2
38	1	0	1	0	looks
39	1	5	1	1	has
40	3	12	2	1	has x2, looks

Notes

- T9 = more formal setting
- T24= use of 'happens' occurs with, and is possibly influenced by auxiliary 'does'
- T26= 'means' appears to be used as an auxiliary
- T28 = more formal setting
- T29 = atypical because L1 English speaker was present
- T32= 'wanna' and 3rd person zero
- T34= more formal and presence of L1 speaker

Totals				
T#	3 rd person -S	3 rd person zero	3 rd person -S (Aux)	3 rd person zero (Aux)
40	103	108	62	3

Common European Framework

Table 3. Common Reference Levels: qualitative aspects of spoken language use

	RANGE	ACCURACY	FLUENCY	INTERACTION	COHERENCE
C2	Shows great flexibility reformulating ideas in differing linguistic forms to convey finer shades of meaning precisely, to give emphasis, to differentiate and to eliminate ambiguity. Also has a good command of idiomatic expressions and colloquialisms.	Maintains consistent grammatical control of complex language, even while attention is otherwise engaged (e.g. in forward planning, in monitoring others' reactions).	Can express him/herself spontaneously at length with a natural colloquial flow, avoiding or backtracking around any difficulty so smoothly that the interlocutor is hardly aware of it.	Can interact with ease and skill, picking up and using non-verbal and intonational cues apparently effortlessly. Can interweave his/her contribution into the joint discourse with fully natural turn-taking, referencing, allusion making, etc.	Can create coherent and cohesive discourse making full and appropriate use of a variety of organisational patterns and a wide range of connectors and other cohesive devices.
C1	Has a good command of a broad range of language allowing him/her to select a formulation to express him/herself clearly in an appropriate style on a wide range of general, academic, professional or leisure topics without having to restrict what he/she wants to say.	Consistently maintains a high degree of grammatical accuracy; errors are rare, difficult to spot and generally corrected when they do occur.	Can express him/herself fluently and spontaneously, almost effortlessly. Only a conceptually difficult subject can hinder a natural, smooth flow of language.	Can select a suitable phrase from a readily available range of discourse functions to preface his remarks in order to get or to keep the floor and to relate his/her own contributions skilfully to those of other speakers.	Can produce clear, smoothly flowing, well-structured speech, showing controlled use of organisational patterns, connectors and cohesive devices.
B2+					
B2	Has a sufficient range of language to be able to give clear descriptions, express viewpoints on most general topics, without much conspicuous searching for words, using some complex sentence forms to do so.	Shows a relatively high degree of grammatical control. Does not make errors which cause misunderstanding, and can correct most of his/her mistakes.	Can produce stretches of language with a fairly even tempo; although he/she can be hesitant as he/she searches for patterns and expressions. There are few noticeably long pauses.	Can initiate discourse, take his/her turn when appropriate and end conversation when he/she needs to, though he/she may not always do this elegantly. Can help the discussion along on familiar ground confirming comprehension, inviting others in, etc.	Can use a limited number of cohesive devices to link his/her utterances into clear, coherent discourse, though there may be some 'jumpiness' in a long contribution.

B1+							
B1	Has enough language to get by, with sufficient vocabulary to express him/herself with some hesitation and circumbutions on topics such as family, hobbies and interests, work, travel, and current events.	Uses reasonably accurately a repertoire of frequently used 'routines' and patterns associated with more predictable situations.	Can keep going comprehensibly, even though pausing for grammatical and lexical planning and repair is very evident, especially in longer stretches of free production.	Can initiate, maintain and close simple face-to-face conversation on topics that are familiar or of personal interest. Can repeat back part of what someone has said to confirm mutual understanding.	Can link a series of shorter, discrete simple elements into a connected, linear sequence of points.		
A2+							
A2	Uses basic sentence patterns with memorised phrases, groups of a few words and formulae in order to communicate limited information in simple everyday situations.	Uses some simple structures correctly, but still systematically makes basic mistakes.	Can make him/herself understood in very short utterances, even though pauses, false starts and reformulation are very evident.	Can answer questions and respond to simple statements. Can indicate when he/she is following but is rarely able to understand enough to keep his/her own accord.	Can link groups of words with simple connectors like 'and', 'but' and 'because'.		
A1	Has a very basic repertoire of words and simple phrases related to personal details and particular concrete situations.	Shows only limited control of a few simple grammatical structures and sentence patterns in a memorised repertoire.	Can manage very short, isolated, mainly pre-packaged utterances, with much pausing to search for expressions, to articulate less familiar words, and to repair communication.	Can ask and answer questions about personal details. Can interact in a simple way but communication is totally dependent on repetition, rephrasing and repair.	Can link words or groups of words with very basic linear connectors like 'and' or 'then'.		

CELTA Syllabus and Assessment Guidelines

UNIT 1 – Learners and teachers and the teaching and learning context

Ref	Syllabus content	Learning outcomes	Assessment
		<i>Successful candidates can:</i>	
1.1	Cultural, linguistic and educational backgrounds	demonstrate an understanding of the range of backgrounds and experiences that adult learners bring to their classes	<p>Teaching practice: planning and teaching</p> <p>Assignment: <i>Focus on the learner</i></p>
1.2	Motivations for learning English as an adult	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. demonstrate an understanding of the different motivations and expectations that adults bring to learning English b. identify ways in which personal factors may affect language learning c. make practical use of this knowledge and understanding to plan and teach with sensitivity d. develop and maintain motivation, identify and respond to expectations 	
1.3	Learning and teaching styles	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. demonstrate an awareness of the different learning styles and preferences that adults bring to learning English b. demonstrate an awareness of the different roles teachers may adopt at different stages of teaching and in different teaching/learning contexts c. make practical use of this awareness in planning and teaching 	
1.4	Context for learning and teaching English	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. understand in broad terms the context in which teaching is taking place with special reference to the learners, the physical surroundings and the availability of resources b. understand the broad range of learning needs including the needs of learners with learning difficulties and/or disabilities c. make practical use of this understanding in adapting teaching to contexts and learners' needs 	
1.5	Varieties of English	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. understand the main ways that varieties of English differ from one another b. demonstrate awareness of the need for teachers and learners to make informed choices about language models for teaching and learning c. make practical use of this knowledge and awareness in planning and teaching 	
1.6	Multilingualism and the role of first languages	demonstrate an understanding of the kinds of language backgrounds that learners may come from (e.g. multilingual/monolingual; standard/non-standard) and how a learner's language background might influence the learning of English	

(Cambridge ESOL, 2006: 8)

CELTA Syllabus and Assessment Guidelines

UNIT 2 – Language analysis and awareness

Ref	Syllabus content	Learning outcomes	Assessment
<i>Successful candidates can:</i>			
2.1	Basic concepts and terminology used in ELT to discuss language form and use	understand key terminology used in ELT to talk about language and apply this terminology to planning and teaching	Assignment: <i>Language related tasks</i> Language analysis for teaching
2.2	Grammar Rules and conventions relating to words, sentences, paragraphs and texts Formation and usage of grammatical features relating to the noun phrase and verb phrase	a. demonstrate understanding of a range of the rules and conventions relating to words, sentences, paragraphs and texts b. demonstrate a basic working knowledge of how the verb phrase and the noun phrase are formed and used in English, for example: tense and aspect voice modality including the expression of hypothetical meaning finite and non-finite forms the adverbial element countability	
2.3	Lexis Word formation, meaning and use in context	a. demonstrate familiarity with basic principles of word formation and lexical meaning for example: meaning and definition pronunciation spelling affixation and compounding synonymy and hyponymy b. demonstrate understanding of the effect on word choice of factors such as co-text (e.g. collocation) context of situation (style)	
2.4	Phonology The formation and description of English phonemes Features of connected speech	a. demonstrate a working knowledge of the sounds of English b. demonstrate understanding of some features of connected speech. For example: linking assimilation and elision word and sentence stress intonation patterns	

CELTA Syllabus and Assessment Guidelines

Unit 2 – continued

Ref	Syllabus content	Learning outcomes	Assessment
<i>Successful candidates can:</i>			
2.5	The practical significance of similarities and differences between languages	identify some significant differences between their own language and a foreign language and demonstrate in practice their understanding of the relevance of some of these differences for the teacher and learner	Assignment: <i>Focus on the learner</i>
2.6	Reference materials for language awareness	use a range of reference material to analyse and describe language for teaching purposes	Assignment: <i>Language related tasks</i>
2.7	Key strategies and approaches for developing learners' language knowledge	use a limited range of strategies, approaches and techniques to develop learners' language knowledge e.g inductive and deductive presentations	Teaching practice

Cambridge ESOL, 2006: 10-11)

Appendix H

Teacher Training Questionnaire

Personal Details

If you provide details of your name and email address, these will remain entirely confidential. Your anonymity will be safeguarded at all times.

Name (optional)

Male / Female (please circle)

Age (please circle)

25-34

35-44

45-54

55+

First language(s)

Other languages you speak

Total number of years teaching English

Total number of years teacher training

CELTA.....

DELTA.....

Other
(Please give details below)

Additional Teacher Training Experience	
Other pre-service	Other in-service

In which countries have you taught English?
(please specify length of time)

In which countries have you trained teachers?
(please specify length of time)

Appendix H

.....
1. Below are the 5 syllabus units for CELTA as identified in the Cambridge ESOL syllabus and assessment guidelines.

1. Learners and Teachers and the Teaching and Learning Context
2. Language Analysis and Awareness
3. Language Skills
4. Planning and Resources for Different Learning Contexts
5. Developing Teaching Skills and Professionalism

Please comment on a) which of these you feel are the most important areas of development for novice teachers, and b) what extent each component informs your assessment of the candidates' performance during the course?

a).....
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b).....
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2. The topics for Unit 1 in the syllabus and assessment guidelines are stipulated as follows:

- 1.1 Cultural, linguistic and educational backgrounds
- 1.2 Motivations for learning English as an adult
- 1.3 Learning and teaching styles
- 1.4 Context for learning and teaching English
- 1.5 Varieties of English
- 1.6 Multilingualism and the role of first languages

Please comment on which of these you feel to be most important for teacher development. To what extent do these influence the input sessions and your assessment of candidates?

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AppendixH

3. This unit of the syllabus was recently changed by Cambridge ESOL, and was expanded from 4 to 6 items, with 1.5 'varieties of English' and 1.6 'Multilingualism and the role of first languages' being added to the current syllabus and assessment guidelines document.

To what extent have these additions to the syllabus led to a change in the way you devise your input timetable, and to what extent do these items influence the way you assess CELTA candidates?

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4. Which varieties of English do you feel it is important for language teachers to be most aware and/or acceptant of? Which variety/ies should teachers present as models in the classroom?

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5. Please evaluate the following utterances in English on the following scales for a) correctness b) acceptability for international communication c) intelligibility for international communication d) importance for classroom correction. In each case circle the appropriate number.

5.1 We need to discuss about the problem

a) very correct	6	5	4	3	2	1	very incorrect
b) very acceptable	6	5	4	3	2	1	very unacceptable
c) very intelligible	6	5	4	3	2	1	very unintelligible
d) not at all important to correct	6	5	4	3	2	1	very important to correct

Appendix H

5.2 Last summer I was happy because I finally took my driving license

a) very correct	6	5	4	3	2	1	very incorrect
b) very acceptable	6	5	4	3	2	1	very unacceptable
c) very intelligible	6	5	4	3	2	1	very unintelligible
d) not at all important to correct	6	5	4	3	2	1	very important to correct

5.3 I enjoy listening classical music

a) very correct	6	5	4	3	2	1	very incorrect
b) very acceptable	6	5	4	3	2	1	very unacceptable
c) very intelligible	6	5	4	3	2	1	very unintelligible
d) not at all important to correct	6	5	4	3	2	1	very important to correct

5.4 My sister has same problem as me

a) very correct	6	5	4	3	2	1	very incorrect
b) very acceptable	6	5	4	3	2	1	very unacceptable
c) very intelligible	6	5	4	3	2	1	very unintelligible
d) not at all important to correct	6	5	4	3	2	1	very important to correct

5.5 Pollution is a major issue and a big problem for the nature

a) very correct	6	5	4	3	2	1	very incorrect
b) very acceptable	6	5	4	3	2	1	very unacceptable
c) very intelligible	6	5	4	3	2	1	very unintelligible
d) not at all important to correct	6	5	4	3	2	1	very important to correct

5.6 In my country everybody have to do military service

a) very correct	6	5	4	3	2	1	very incorrect
b) very acceptable	6	5	4	3	2	1	very unacceptable
c) very intelligible	6	5	4	3	2	1	very unintelligible
d) not at all important to correct	6	5	4	3	2	1	very important to correct

5.7 I didn't finish reading the book yet

a) very correct	6	5	4	3	2	1	very incorrect
b) very acceptable	6	5	4	3	2	1	very unacceptable
c) very intelligible	6	5	4	3	2	1	very unintelligible
d) not at all important to correct	6	5	4	3	2	1	very important to correct

Additional comments

Please add any further comments you would like to make about varieties of English, the CELTA course, teacher training generally, or your beliefs about correctness and acceptability in ELT.

Thank you very much for taking the time to complete this questionnaire. I appreciate your help. Please contact me at martin.dewey@kcl.ac.uk if you would like to discuss any issues raised by these questions.

If you are willing for me to contact you to discuss your views further please include your email address here (your anonymity will be protected at all times).

Email:
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